

JPRS 69802

16 September 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON USSR POLITICAL  
AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 805

REPUBLIC LEADERS' SPEECHES ON USSR  
DRAFT CONSTITUTION AT SOVIET SESSIONS

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<b>BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET</b>	1. Report No. <b>JPRS 69802</b>	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle <b>TRANSLATIONS ON USSR - POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS, No. 805 REPUBLIC LEADERS' SPEECHES ON USSR DRAFT CONSTITUTION AT SOVIET SESSIONS</b>		5. Report Date <b>16 September 1977</b>	
7. Author(s)		6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address <b>Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201</b>		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
		11. Contract/Grant No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  <b>As above</b>		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
		14.	
15. Supplementary Notes			
16. Abstracts  The report contains information on government and party structure, policy and problems, law and social regulation, education, and cultural and social aspects of Soviet life, trade union and Komsomol activities.  The report contains speeches discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution delivered by party secretaries of the republics and the Leningrad Oblast and Moscow City Party Committee to their respective republic and city soviet sessions.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors  USSR Political Science Sociology Government Communism Law (Jurisprudence) Education Culture (Social Sciences)			
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms			
17c. COSATI Field/Group    5D, 5F, 5K			
18. Availability Statement <b>Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151</b>		19. Security Class (This Report) <b>UNCLASSIFIED</b>	21. No. of Pages <b>272</b>
		20. Security Class (This Page) <b>UNCLASSIFIED</b>	22. Price <b>PC A12</b>

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[Discussion of the USSR draft constitution continued at soviet sessions held in late June and throughout July. During the period 22 June-21 July, all 15 republics held supreme soviet sessions, published decrees approving the draft of the new constitution, and established commissions to prepare drafts for the new republic constitutions. City soviet sessions were held in Moscow and Leningrad on 24 and 28 June. First secretaries delivered reports on the constitution at all soviet sessions, except in Belorussia, where a second secretary spoke. This report contains texts or excerpts (containing all comments on the constitution) from the reports delivered at the soviet sessions. For leaders' speeches on the constitution delivered at party plenums in early June, see TRANSLATIONS ON USSR POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS, No. 799, 4 August 1977, JPRS 69549.]

CONTENTS	PAGE
Shcherbitskiy Report to Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (V. V. Shcherbitskiy; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 24 Jun 77) .....	1
Bodyul Report to Moldavian Supreme Soviet (I. I. Bodyul; SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 15 Jul 77) .....	17
Demirchyan Report to Armenian Supreme Soviet (K. S. Demirchyan; KOMMUNIST, 8 Jul 77) .....	33
Shevardnadze Report to Georgian Supreme Soviet (E. A. Shevardnadze; ZARYA VOSTOKA, 5 Jul 77) .....	55
Gapurov Report to Turkmen Supreme Soviet (M. G. Gapurov; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 15 Jul 77) .....	80
Rasulov Report to Tadzhik Supreme Soviet (D. R. Rasulov; KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 16 Jul 77) .....	101
Aliyev Report to Azerbaydzhan Supreme Soviet (G. A. Aliyev; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 8 Jul 77) .....	113
Rashidov Report to Uzbek Supreme Soviet (Sh. R. Rashidov; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 23 Jun 77) .....	137



CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Kunayev Report to Kazakh Supreme Soviet (D. A. Kunayev; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 22 Jul 77) .....	147
Usubaliyev Report to Kirgiz Supreme Soviet (T. U. Usubaliyev; SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 8 Jul 77) .....	165
Solomentsev Report to RSFSR Supreme Soviet (M. S. Solomentsev; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 21 Jul 77) .....	184
Romanov Address to Leningrad City Soviet (LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 24 Jun 77) .....	202
Grishin Address to Moscow City Soviet (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 29 Jun 77) .....	205
Kebin Report to Estonian Supreme Soviet (I. G. Kebin; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 21 Jul 77) .....	215
Voss Report to Latvian Supreme Soviet (A. E. Voss; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 15 Jul 77) .....	228
Grishkyavichus Report to Lithuanian Supreme Soviet (P. Grishkyavichus; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 2 Jul 77) .....	242
Report by Second Secretary Polyakov to Belorussian Supreme Soviet (I. Ye. Polyakov; SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 15 Jul 77) .....	255

SHCHERBITSKIY REPORT TO UKRAINIAN SUPREME SOVIET

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Jun 77 pp 1-3 LD

[Report by V. V. Shcherbitskiy, Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, at the session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on 23 June 1977: "On the Draft of the New USSR Constitution and the Tasks of the Soviets Arising From the Report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee May 1977 Plenum."--Enclosures in slantlines indicate boldface.]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies: Our country in the prime of its creative forces is nearing the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is significant that the USSR draft constitution, outstanding document of our times, has been submitted for nationwide discussion precisely in the year of this glorious jubilee.

Comrades, whenever our party defines general prospects for developing society, whenever it traces the line of domestic and foreign policy for the Soviet state, it turns to the people and advises the people, because the party finds service to the people to be the supreme goal of its entire activity. This is convincing evidence of the unbreakable ties between the party and the people.

The new constitution was drafted under the direct leadership of the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo, and the Central Committee general secretary, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. Our party's Central Committee and the Constitution Committee performed work that was enormous both in its scope and importance. The USSR draft constitution was examined and unanimously approved by the CPSU Central Committee plenum on 24 May this year.

As is known, a report on the draft of the new constitution was delivered at the plenum by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, chairman of the Constitution Commission. /Leonid Il'ich's brilliant and well-substantiated report on the plenum's entire activity, which was permeated with the spirit of party principle-mindedness, unity and cohesion, aroused among the plenum participants and all the Soviet people feelings of great pride in our party and in our people's heroic accomplishments./

The report offered a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the radical changes that had occurred in our society's life and in the Soviet state's international position since the time when the present constitution was adopted. It substantiated in detail the need to draft a new constitution, defined its main features and historic importance. The theses and conclusions set forth by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in his speech are of programmatic character.

As you know, comrades, a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet was held recently. All deputies warmly approved the decisions of the May CPSU Central Committee plenum and the draft of the new constitution.

On /16 June this year the session, on the motion of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, with great enthusiasm and unanimity, elected the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Deputy Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium./

/In substantiating the motion of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade Suslov emphasized that the election of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to that high state office was in line with the supreme interests of Soviet society and the state, and that it would contribute to new successes in carrying out the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, to new successes in building communism. This act reflects our party's growing leading and directing role, the boundless nationwide trust in and deep respect for Leonid Il'ich, faithful Leninist, glorious son of the Communist Party, prominent politician and statesman and ardent fighter for peace./

Both in our country and abroad, it has been generally accepted that, as our party's leader and chairman of the Defense Council, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev actually headed our state. It is precisely Leonid Il'ich who worthily represents the Soviet Union in the international arena, conducts talks and corresponds with the heads of other states, and signs the most important documents on behalf of our country. It was only natural for our country's political leader, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, also to become the constitutional head of the state.

With this act, our party and our state have once again manifested before the entire world that the Soviet Union was headed by an outstanding politician and statesman enjoying full support among his people.

The world press has correctly emphasized that this event was of great political importance, both for the internal life of the Soviet state and in the international aspect.

/Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the communists, and all the 50 million people of the Soviet Ukraine, to convey to dear Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev our cordial congratulations and the most sincere wishes of good health, inexhaustible energies, and inspiration in his truly titanic activity for the benefit of the Soviet people, in the interests of a general peace and in the name of the triumph of the immortal ideals of communism.

/Like all the Soviet people, the Soviet Ukraine's communists and working people warmly approve and support the political line pursued by the CPSU, the decisions of the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee plenum and of the USSR Supreme Soviet session, and the USSR draft constitution./

Convincing evidence of this lies in the results of the plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee held on 10 June this year. Evidence of this lies in the unanimity inherent in the discussion on those important documents at party aktiv meetings, party committee plenums, at the sessions of the soviets of workers deputies, at the meetings and gatherings taking place in labor collectives. Evidence of this also lies in many letters addressed to party, soviet and other organs, to editorial boards of newspapers, and to radio and television services. Evidence of this lies in the new upsurge in our people's political and labor activity, in the broad scope of socialist competitions for a worthy welcome to the 60th Great October anniversary.

It is only natural, comrades, that Comrade Brezhnev's report at the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the draft of the new Soviet Constitution have aroused a broad international echo. Our friends abroad regard the USSR draft constitution as a natural result of the economic, political and sociocultural development of Soviet society and the state in the past 4 decades. They point out that the new constitution will redouble the attractiveness of the Soviet Union and of real socialism among the broadest people's masses all over the world, and will become a true code of world socialism.

As far as the bourgeois press is concerned, it is to be pointed out that the most influential newspapers in capitalist countries published lengthy summaries, and some even the full text of our draft constitution. Quite a few of them were compelled to admit its--as they wrote--"historic" and "monumental" importance, to admit the fact that the USSR Constitution called for fuller rights than any constitution in the West.

/One can say without any exaggeration that the adoption of the new USSR Constitution--in its significance and in influence on our state's domestic life, and on the whole situation in the world--will be of enormous and of truly historic importance./ The new constitution will undoubtedly further invigorate our country's entire public and political life, will enrich the general treasury of the experience of world socialism, and will become a striking and inspiring example for the working people of capitalist countries in their liberation struggle.

#### I.

Comrades: Certainly, all Supreme Soviet deputies have closely studied the draft of the new USSR Constitution and the materials of the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee plenum, and of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. For this reason there is no need to deal in detail with their contents. Moreover, the proceedings of the last plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, which closely discussed these issues, were also highlighted in

our press. Allow me to dwell on the most important, in our opinion, theses of the draft constitution and on the tasks arising from Comrade Brezhnev's report.

/As you know, Leonid Il'ich primarily carefully substantiated the conditions for drafting a new constitution, and defined the profound and fundamental changes that have occurred in the past 4 decades in Soviet society./

Under the guidance of the Leninist party, our country has built a developed and mature socialist society. The Soviet Union ranks now among the world's most developed countries, and is a state with a powerful and modern economy, with an advanced science and technology, with an unprecedentedly high level of social morality, education and culture among all people.

As is known, in the past decade our country's economic potential doubled. The Soviet Union accounts for one-fifth of the world's industrial production. Under Soviet rule, the general volume of agricultural output has increased 4.4 times. More than three-quarters of the personnel employed in the country's national economy have now higher or secondary, complete or incomplete, education. All forms of instruction have encompassed more than 93 million people.

The social uniformity of Soviet society is growing. The alliance of the workers class with the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia has grown even stronger. The role of the workers class, as the main transforming force in communal life, is steadily increasing. Our country's nations and nationalities are increasingly drawing closer, and their fraternal friendship and cooperation are strengthening. A new historic community of people has emerged--the Soviet people. As the draft constitution states, having accomplished the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet state has become a state of the whole people.

Year in and year out, we all can see our people's lives becoming increasingly prosperous, spiritually rich and full-blooded, and the wonderful features of the Soviet way of life manifesting themselves ever more clearly and fully. /Concrete facts and figures from our republic's life were quoted at the plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to show the fundamental socioeconomic changes that had occurred in our society since the adoption of our constitution in 1936./ Their depth and scope are striking indeed. The Ukraine's population now numbers 49.3 million, or 1.4 times more than 40 years ago. In the same time, the workers class has increased 2.9 times and its share in the total population more than doubled.

/The republic's economy/, a component part of the country's integral national economic complex, is developing vigorously. Our industrial output is 17 times that of the 1937 level, and labor productivity increased in the same period more than sevenfold. The Ukraine is now supplying three times as much production as the whole industry of the Soviet Union in the pre-war year of 1940. In this period, new and modern industrial branches have emerged; the

technical life of production has increased beyond comparison. Year in and year out, the scope of capital construction is growing. This year, more than R18 billion worth of capital investments will be used, or 21 times as much as in 1936.

Owing to the persistent pursuit of the party's agrarian policy, the material and technical basis of agricultural production is steadily strengthening. It has become a highly developed sector of our economy. The yields of grain crops have increased 2.7 times in the 40 years and last year averaged 27.9 quintals per hectare. The gross output of grain has increased in the same time span to 44.6 million tons, or 1.8 times. The production of meat and milk has increased 2.7-2.9 times, and that of eggs, 3.6 times.

The same period is remarkable for the great achievements in materializing the social program, for the steadily improving working people's prosperity. Let me quote a few figures. Last year alone, the republic put into operation almost 9 times as much housing space as in 1936. Almost 1,000 families daily are now celebrating their house-warming parties. Of course, even if the working people's needs have changed in recent years, and even if the most frequent topic now is not how to obtain a dwelling, but how to improve housing conditions, this issue still is very important. For this reason, the implementation of the housing construction program must receive the daily attention of party, soviet and economic organs.

An important index of the working people's prosperity is the constant growth of the population's purchasing power and the sales of foodstuffs and manufactured goods. Compared with 1937, commodity turnover in the republic increased more than 11 times and reached R39 billion. Average monthly commodity sales to the population are equal now to the annual sales then. The sale of meat and meat products from state resources, of milk and milk products, butter and eggs, increased in that period by 11-18 times. The sales of manufactured goods increased significantly, too: those of cloth and leather footwear by 11-12 times, and knitwear by 23 times.

The following data also deserve to be quoted: for each 100 families in the republic there are 74 television sets, 60 refrigerators, 62 washing machines and many other household appliances facilitating domestic labor and contributing toward the satisfaction of our people's needs. A new national economic branch has actually emerged--domestic services. In the past 10 years alone, the volume of domestic services increased more than fourfold.

Compared with 1936, outlays for health services increased by nearly 27 times. While in that year physicians in the republic numbered 24,600 they now exceed 161,000. Year in and year out, our state is increasing funds for the working people's pension insurance. In the past 40 years, the republic's expenditures for social insurance increased by nearly 100 times and now amount to R5.3 billion. While in 1940 there were 430,000 recipients of state allowances, there are presently about 10 million.

The party and the state take constant pains to preserve and restore natural resources. In the past 5-year period alone, our republic spent R2.1 billion on measures linked with environmental protection. The scope of environmental protection work is constantly growing. Last year, for example, more than 250 purifying facilities and water recycling supply systems were put into service. Soil protection measures were put into effect on nearly 10 million hectares and 86,000 hectares of new forests were planted.

Our country's achievements in cultural construction make a strong impression all over the world. One need but recall that in 1936 graduates from our republic's secondary day schools numbered only 14,000, whereas at present nearly 500,000 young men and women are graduating from secondary schools each year. As is the case all over the country, we have for the most part completed the change to the general secondary education of youths. Since the formation of the system of vocational and technical education in 1940, more than 6 million skilled workers have been trained. The Ukraine's higher and secondary special educational establishments have 1,650,000 students. There are 171 students per 10,000 inhabitants, or 3.6 times more than before the war. The number of specialists in the national economy has increased 8.7 times compared with 1940, and presently totals 4.5 million. The Ukraine now has 175,000 scientific workers, including 4,400 doctors and more than 50,000 candidates of sciences. The number of scientists increased by 9 times in the past 40 years.

/Our entire reality thus convincingly confirms the theses of the new USSR Constitution stating that all the favorable conditions are being provided in our society for all-round individual development. Our society regards the concern of all for the prosperity of each one, and the concern of each one for the prosperity of all as the law of life./ All these achievements are even more valued by the Soviet people because they were attained despite the difficult trials of the bitter period of the Great Fatherland War.

/The source and the guarantee of all our accomplishments lie in the socialist system, in the selfless creative will of the Soviet people, in the fraternal friendship among all our country's nations and nationalities and in the Leninist party's tested leadership./ And if one deals with international factors that called for drafting a new constitution, they lie in the fact that the whole sociopolitical face of the world--and primarily the Soviet Union's international position--have greatly changed. New possibilities have opened for the growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace all over the world.

All this was reflected in the draft of the new constitution. It stresses that the Soviet state's main tasks at present are to create the material-technical basis of communism, to improve socialist social relations and transform them into communist relations to educate the man of a communist society, to improve the working people's material and cultural living standards, to guarantee the country's security, to contribute toward strengthening peace and developing international cooperation.

## II.

Comrades: While characterizing the fundamental bases of the new constitution, its theoretical and practical foundations, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in his report at the CPSU Central Committee plenum particularly pointed out that the entire content of that important political document, each of its sections, chapters, and articles were permeated with Leninist ideas and embodied Lenin's legacy. It synthesizes the best of everything that has been produced in the practice of socialist state construction, the constitutional experience of our country and of the fraternal socialist states. This is fully in line with the 25th CPSU Congress instructions. /The draft of the constitution strikingly reflects the historic achievements of socialism, the supreme principles of the socialist system, its class essence, the Soviet state's political and economic system which has taken shape in the Great October and its peace-living nature./

The fact that the draft reflects in a proper manner the leading role of the CPSU has been received by all our people with deep satisfaction. Our Leninist party at all stages responsibly played and plays its historic role; it is the Soviet people's tested vanguard and exerts growing influence on the events of world history, on the destinies of peoples, on their present and their future. Our party sacredly follows great Lenin's legacy--to direct and organize a new system, to be a teacher, a leader and a guide for all the working people. The party pioneer and creator confidently leads the Soviet people along Lenin's path to communism.

Further expanding and deepening socialist democracy is the main trend in developing our political system. Indeed, comrades, the more our socialist society matures and the nearer it is to communism, the more intense is the working people's activity in the handling of all communal issues, and the more true democracy, about which Vladimir Il'ich Lenin spoke, takes increasingly fuller shape. This is the exact direction in which the democratic principles further develop, principles of constituting and running soviets through which all our people exert their will and their authority. For this reason it is only natural that our soviets will in the future be called the soviets of people's deputies.

Regular elections to local soviets have just been held in the republic. As is true all over the country, they once again strikingly manifested the triumph of Soviet democracy, once again confirmed the unbreakable unity between the party and the people. More than 34 million citizens took part in the elections, almost all those having the right to vote. The results of the elections clearly show that the voters cast their votes for the candidates of the tested bloc of communists and nonparty members. As members of electoral commissions, more than 2 million persons were directly engaged in carrying out the elections. Millions of working people participated in meetings to nominate candidate deputies and to meet candidates. All this is striking evidence of our electoral system's true democracy, of the fact that elections in our country are a matter of all people indeed.

About 522,000 of the best and most prestigious representatives of the workers class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia were elected as soviet deputies, or 220,000 more than to the soviets of the first convocation. Those the people's elected include 72.4 percent workers and kolkhoz peasants,



47.6 percent women and 45.2 percent CPSU members and candidate members. Almost one-third--31.1 percent--of all deputies are young people, with 19.1 percent from Komsomols.

Ever new masses of the working people are being directly engaged in actively running communal affairs. During the previous elections more than one-third--35.6 percent--of all deputies were elected to soviets for the first time. Soviet deputies and their many aktivs constitute a great political potential. This is why it is very important for each deputy to fully fulfill his or her high duties. There is no higher distinction for Soviet man than to enjoy the people's confidence. The sacred duty of each of those elected is to justify this high confidence.

Very important for consistently implementing the principles of socialist democracy is also the multifaceted activity by trade unions, the Komsomol, and all other mass organizations of the working people, which under the party's guidance insure that the interests of all social groups of the population are taken into account.

A very important feature of the draft constitution lies in /further developing the socioeconomic, political and individual rights and freedoms of the Soviet people. The Soviet state's fundamental law radically differs from the formal proclamation of rights in the constitutions of bourgeois countries by the fact that the former puts emphasis on real guarantees of rights, on their material insurance by the socialist state./

The guarantees of the Soviet people's rights and freedoms, fixed in the draft constitution, are a great achievement of our system, of our Soviet democracy, and the Soviet way of life. At the same time, it is a worthy rebuff to the fabrications of bourgeois propaganda which is trying by any means to denigrate, to belittle the appeal of our new constitution, and to falsify its content.

We have always proceeded, and do proceed from the premise that our democracy is a class democracy; it expresses and defends the interests of the workers class and of all working people. For this reason, the draft constitution quite correctly emphasizes that the rights and freedoms must not be used to the detriment of the interests of society and the state, of the rights of other citizens.

It is only self-evident that /the assertion of rights and freedoms, guaranteed by the constitution, is inseparable from the fulfillment of one's duties to the state and the people./ This is why our people must be well aware of both their rights and duties imposed on them by the constitution. This requires improving the work to explain the Soviet laws, the legal instruction of the population, and particularly of the younger generation.

It is also important to emphasize that the citizens' rights fixed in the constitution will be implemented more consistently and fully, depending on

our state's ability to assign more funds for social needs and on the best possible fulfillment of the plans for housing, social and cultural construction. This directly depends on each Soviet man's efforts, on the growing effectiveness and improving quality of all our work. Because, under the conditions of socialism, the objective of developing communal production is to meet people's constantly growing needs.

The draft constitution also preserves and further develops the fundamental thesis that the socialist ownership of production means constitutes the basis of the USSR's economic system. The section "Social Development and Culture" for the first time formally sanctions such important functions of our state as efforts to promote education, science and art, to improve working and living conditions for the Soviet people, to promote the elimination of the differences that exist between the city and the countryside, between intellectual and physical labor, and to promote social uniformity in society. These, and a number of other theses, are also of great importance, particularly those concerning the role of the labor collective and the basic principles of operating the national economy at the current stage.

Comrades, the new constitution is further convincing evidence of the /triumphant Leninist nationality policy of the CPSU and of the inviolable unity and friendship among all nations and nationalities in our country./ The USSR is an integral united multinational state embodying the unity of the Soviet people and rallying all the peoples to build in common communism.

As is known, our socialist economy constitutes a uniform national economic complex which is a reliable basis for a vigorous development of each republic and a guarantee of the successful accomplishment of all economic and political tasks. The draft constitution ratifies such an important principle of the socialist economy as the combination of planned and centralized management with the economic independence and initiative of enterprises and associations.

Like the 1936 constitution, the draft points out that the sovereign rights of union republics are protected by the USSR. Union republics represented by their supreme organs of state power consolidate their right of legislative initiative. Provision has been made for the participation of republics in the treatment of issues attributed to the USSR authority by union organs.

We have every reason to say that the truly organic combination of the common interests of our multinational union with the interests of each republic insures the all-round blossoming and drawing closer of all nations and nationalities of the country of the Soviets. /We cherish like the apple of our eye, and will always strengthen our integral union state, the inviolable friendship of the Ukrainian people with the Russian and other fraternal peoples in our country./

A great international response has been aroused by the fact that the draft constitution is the first to legislatively ratify the /Leninist principles of Soviet peaceful foreign policy and tasks for defending the socialist motherland./

Convincing new evidence of the ever growing prestige of the Leninist foreign political line pursued by our party and state was supplied by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's successful visit to France, and the signing of important Soviet-French documents of great international significance. /Like all the Soviet people, the republic's working people unanimously approve and actively support the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy and the principled and consistent position taken by our state in the struggle for peace and international security./ The 6 decades since the Great October Socialist Revolution have convincingly shown to the whole world that our heroic people, having formed their powerful state, are always prepared to defend it against any encroachment.

Thus, comrades, /the new draft constitution is a document of enormous political and mobilizing potential./ This is a great result of the entire history of developing a socialist society, a result that concentrates the Leninist party's wisdom and experience, and our people's creative genius.

### III.

Comrades: in connection with the publication of the new draft constitution for nationwide discussion, party, soviet and public organizations are conducting organizational and mass political work which is great in its scope and importance. At the May CPSU Central Committee plenum, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev pointed out that this was a matter of top importance for all our organizations and cadres, a vital matter for the soviets. They are called upon to reach all the population, to insure broad, free and truly businesslike discussions on the draft, and to give this responsible action an accurate and clear direction. All this has been provided for in the concrete measures approved by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum for organizing discussions on the draft constitution in the republic.

Many examples are being quoted everywhere at party aktiv meetings, at the sessions of the newly elected soviets of workers deputies, and at the meetings of labor collectives to show the enormous changes that have occurred in the lives of oblasts, cities, rayons and villages, in the lives of our republic's entire population in the past 40 years since the adoption of the present USSR Constitution.

It is highly important to take clear account of, and to generalize the remarks and suggestions made by the working people during the discussions on the draft constitution, to effectively and in a businesslike manner respond to the criticism and observations voiced at the meetings and in many letters to party, soviet and other organs to editorial boards of newspapers, television and radio broadcasting services. A working group has been set up under the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium to generalize the suggestions and remarks made during the discussions and to compile combined data for the republic. Similar working groups have also been set up in oblasts.

/Soviets are called upon to actively participate in organizing large-scale agitation and propaganda work to explain the new draft constitution, as well as the theses and conclusions set forth in Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's report at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, and in his speech at the 17 June session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium./ This action must engage soviet deputies, workers of cultural and enlightenment establishments, our intelligentsia and the broadest circles of aktivs.

The objective of the mass political work must be to convincingly show the great achievements and advantages of the socialist system and of our Soviet way of life, and to resolutely rebuff ideological diversions and the slanderous campaign launched by bourgeois ideologists on the occasion of the invented issue of "human rights" in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and to show by specific examples the inhuman essence of the capitalist system and the lack of real guarantees for individual rights and freedoms under the conditions of bourgeois society.

On the basis of the new USSR Constitution, we are expected to draft and adopt a new Ukrainian SSR Constitution. In connection with this, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Supreme Soviet Presidium submit for the present session's examination the motion to establish a commission to prepare a draft constitution for the Ukrainian SSR and to specify its composition. The commission's draft should be published in December 1977 or January 1978 for a broad discussion, and in the first quarter of the next year it will be examined at an extraordinary session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

As you know, comrades, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has approved the lyrics and music of the USSR national anthem, both of which have been published. We have also organized work on writing the Ukrainian SSR national anthem.

When the new constitution is adopted, it will be necessary to carry out appropriate work in the field of legislation, and in particular to draft and adopt laws concerning the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, the oblast soviet of workers deputies and a number of others.

As is the case all over the country, a great deal has been done in the republic in recent years to make the effective legislation more fully reflect the needs of life and the urgent needs of practice. This work will be continued. This presents an extensive field of activity for the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Supreme Soviet's permanent commissions, the corresponding ministries and departments, scientific establishments and local workers of soviet organs.

Comrades, /preparations for the 60th October Revolution anniversary and the discussion on the new draft constitution are organically linked measures which supplement one another./ The discussion on our state's fundamental law should be organized in such a way that it contributes toward invigorating our entire life, toward arousing new creative forces, developing

socialist competitions, and improving all the political and economic results scored this year on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. During the discussions, much attention is to be devoted to further improving the activity of soviets, of their executive and administrative organs, of permanent commissions and deputies, and to improve work at all levels of state administration.

/Concrete tasks for soviets were set forth in detail on Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's speech at the 17 June session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium./ The Communist Party, Leonid Il'ich said, has always begun from the premise that any of our soviets is a part of the supreme authority, and that it not only has the authority to deal with all the issues attributed to its competence, but also emerges as a bearer of general state decisions. This, comrades, is a very important principle. Such unity between higher and local organs, and the building of supreme power on local initiative, reflect the main essence of soviets--their inviolable links with the people's masses.

It should be emphasized that Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's speech at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium provides a clear-cut program for activity by all soviets, from top to bottom. For this reason, each soviet of workers deputies must work out appropriate measures and use them for guidance in its daily activity.

As you know, the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium heard a report by Comrade Vatchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and by Comrade Barnauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the organization of nationwide discussions on the USSR draft constitution. The session noted the positive work which is being performed, under the guidance of party organs, by the soviets of workers deputies and by public organizations in the Ukrainian and Lithuanian SSRs.

The draft constitution provides that local soviets, stemming from general state interests, and from the interests of the citizens living on their territories, not only settle all questions of local importance and implement the decisions of superior organs, but also--within the limits of their rights--control and coordinate the activity of all enterprises, establishments, and organizations in the sphere of land tenure, environmental protection, construction, the manufacture of consumer goods and social, cultural and domestic services. Their important duty is to insure that production in the territory of the soviets is efficient, and that all collectives totally fulfill the state plans.

All this requires improving the mass organizational work of soviets, consolidating the Leninist and party-like style in the activity of all organs of authority and administration, and cultivating among all workers a creative and responsible attitude on the matters. It is indispensable to see to it that all the requirements of the law on the statutes of soviet deputies are met, and that the work of soviet sessions, of permanent commissions and executive commissions is more businesslike.

The draft constitution emphasizes such important aspects of the work of soviets as insuring control over the strict observation of socialist legality and legal order. A resolute struggle must be waged against violations of state discipline, the manifestations of parochialism and of a narrow-minded departmental attitude on the matter, and against facts of mismanagement and wastefulness, of red tape and bureaucratism. An important role in this field belongs to people's control organs. It is also necessary to improve the work of prosecutor's offices, of courts, arbitration and other organs which are expected to insure the strict observance of Soviet laws. They must show even more initiative, principle-mindedness, and irreconcilability in the struggle against any violations of the Soviet law and order.

Speaking briefly, the soviets, their executive and administrative organs, must constantly coordinate their activity and the work of all organizations, departments and officials with the requirements of the constitution, and must do their best that all its regulations involving both the rights and duties of the citizens are consistently observed at all levels. These are important tasks confronting the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, government, ministries and departments.

/It is clear that all work of the soviets to explain and discuss the draft constitution must be closely linked with the accomplishment of concrete economic and political tasks./ In connection with this, allow me to deal briefly with some questions involving work in the field of the economy, primarily industry. The republic's enterprise collectives prefulfilled the 5-month plan for the sale of products. Above-plan sales totaled R704 million; half of this sum was in consumer goods. The plan was over-fulfilled for the extraction of coal, oil, gas, iron ore, for the production of ferrous metal rolled stock, mineral fertilizers, motor vehicles, fabrics, footwear and most other items of importance. Compared with last year, the general increase in production was 6.3 percent against the planned 5.3 percent. For the sake of a comparison, let me add that in the first 5 months of last year the increase was 3.6 percent. On the whole, the labor productivity plan is being fulfilled. Its growth rate, compared with the corresponding period of last year, was 4.4 percent against the planned 1.8 percent.

Conditions have thus been created for prefulfilling the plans and socialist pledges for the current year. Every party organization, production collective, soviet and economic organ must persistently and consistently struggle for this. We believe that many labor collectives have a very real chance to review and increase their pledges.

The questions of further increasing the effectiveness of industrial production and capital construction, you may remember, were closely examined in April this year, at the plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. Indeed, a great deal has been done in this area. The estimates are that the rates of increase in industrial output and national income in 2 years will exceed the targets set for this period by the five-year plan. The output of high-quality production will increase 50 percent. But matters are still not everywhere as good as they should be.

For this reason we must even more persistently work to accomplish the tasks set by the party to improve production effectiveness, and primarily to settle the whole complex of questions linked with accelerating scientific-technical progress, with increasing labor productivity and improving production quality and, of course, we must insure the planned rate increase in production in all branches and exceed them whenever possible. Effective measures must be taken to improve the state of affairs in primarily ferrous metallurgy, coal and some other industrial branches. The republic's builders must concentrate available material and manpower resources on projects which are about to be commissioned, make efforts to overcome the lag incurred, and see to it that the plans for commissioning production facilities, houses, children's establishments, schools, hospitals and other facilities for social and cultural purposes are totally fulfilled.

The rural workers are now at a busy time. They have done a great deal to lay reliable foundations for obtaining good crops this year. The grain area has been increased to 17.7 million hectares. This is 10 percent more than the yearly average in the ninth 5-year period. It is now important to fully preserve the seeds for the harvest and to insure good corn tending.

/The main thing now is to carry out the crop harvest and grain procurement in an organized manner./ The republic has been given great assistance: 4,500 combines have been delivered shortly before the harvest, additional trucks have been allocated and tires and other material resources have been provided. The oblasts also engage in shifting combines and motor vehicles among themselves. But even so, the per-combine load [navantazhenist] is still high. Consequently, success will depend on the smooth organization of all harvest operations, and on the highly productive utilization of equipment. This is the precise point where party organizations, soviet and agricultural organs, farm managers and specialists, mechanizers and all rural workers must concentrate their attention and efforts.

The collectives of industrial enterprises, transportation and other organizations must, as always, actively help the kolkhozes and sovkhozes bring in the crop.

The rains have somewhat delayed the beginning of harvest operations. However, southern oblasts have already begun selective moving. The harvesting will shortly move to the north. For this reason, it is important everywhere to check once again into the readiness of harvest equipment, of scales, threshing floors, grain driers, storehouses and granaries.

/It is a matter of honor and the patriotic duty of every farm, rayon, oblast and the republic as a whole to fulfill the socialist pledges assumed for the production and sales to the state of all plant produce, and particularly of grain, sugar beets and sunflower seeds./

Let me say a few words about stockbreeding. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes are persistently and in a planned manner working to increase the number of cattle and poultry, and the production of stockbreeding produce. Compared with last year, the farms now have 530,000 more head of large-horned cattle, including

131,000 more cows, 344,000 more pigs, 430,000 more sheep and 10.6 million more head of poultry. Milk yields, weight gains in fattening and the weight conditions of cattle have significantly increased. All this has made it possible to increase milk procurement--compared with the corresponding period last year--by 16 percent, and egg procurement by 14 percent. The procurement of meat has increased by 147,000 tons, or 10 percent.

Conditions have thus been created to fulfill socialist pledges for milk and egg sales to the state. As far as meat is concerned, a great deal must still be done to accomplish the annual plan, and primarily to increase the number of hogs and poultry, and to raise the productivity of animals. At present, when green mass is abundant everywhere, maximum use must be made of the possibilities to fatten cattle in such a way that the daily weight gains of large-horned cattle average at least 600-700 grams and those of hogs--400 grams.

Another highly important and responsible task is to increase fodder production. The weather conditions are favorable in all oblasts. For this reason, fodder production must be organized in such a way as to increase fodder procurement by 12-15 percent this year, and to significantly improve its quality.

/Soviets, their executive committees, ministries and departments, must continually pay attention to the questions of increasing the manufacture of consumer goods, further improving the population's supplies and the entire business of servicing the working people, or everything involving our people's lives./ The republic has done a great deal in this respect, the 5-month plan for retail commodity turnover in the state trade network and cooperative societies was overfulfilled. The above-plan sales of commodities totaled R153 million. Compared with last year their sales increased by R567 million.

On the whole, the stable supply of the population with foodstuffs has been insured. The sales of milk products and eggs have surpassed both the plan and last year's sales. The sale of butter this year has increased 11.2 percent, with supplies this month being 32 percent higher than in June last year. The sale of sunflower oil, melted fats and fish preserves have increased. The necessary steps are being taken to increase meat and meat product resources. The meat supplies allotted to oblasts in June this year increased 16 percent compared with June of last year.

It is necessary also in the future to expand sales on commission, to expand the fattening of hogs, rabbits and poultry at auxiliary private farms, and to improve the work of kolkhoz market places. It is also important to insure plan fulfillment for the procurement and supplies to the cities of vegetables and potatoes, to prepare for the season in a timely fashion the material and technical basis of procurement and processing enterprises, to improve the organization of grade, and to increase the role and responsibility of trade organizations and consumer societies in this field.

More attention should be devoted to further improving the work of health service, cultural and teaching, children's establishments, schools, social insurance establishments, health resorts, as well as transportation, municipal and service enterprises.



Of course, soviets must devote particular attention to the organization of public services and amenities in our cities and villages, at enterprises and farms. In this respect, we have good experience. This experience must be more vigorously disseminated. The public must be engaged in this field, and the utmost must be done to turn all our localities into real cities and villages of highly productive labor, of high efficiency, and of a model public order.

Much attention was devoted to these questions both at electoral meetings and in the voter's instructions. These suggestions must be closely examined, generalized and steps must be taken to implement them.

As you can see, comrades, we are confronted with multistage and responsible tasks. We are able to cope with them because we have a powerful material and technical basis, and have amassed great experience. And the main thing is that we have reared remarkable cadres boundlessly devoted to the cause of socialism, competent specialists and talented organizers able to lead the collectives, and at the same time to learn from them.

Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev pointed out that /at present, when our people are nearing the 60th October anniversary, when the country's new draft fundamental law is being discussed everywhere, the Soviet people's active and creative participation in implementing the plans set by our Leninist party for communist construction is particularly great./

The adoption of the new constitution will be an important landmark in our country's political history; it will be another historic contribution by our Leninist party, our socialist state, and all the Soviet people toward the great cause of the struggle for the progress of mankind, for a lasting peace in the world, and the triumph of the great ideals of communism.

Allow me, esteemed comrade deputies, on behalf of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, to express confidence that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, expressing the opinion of all the republic's working people, will unanimously approve the new draft constitution, thus once again manifesting the soundless devotion of the Ukrainian people to the cause of the Leninist party, and their firm resolution to do the utmost to implement the plans for communist construction.

(Comrade Shcherbitskiy's report was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted with stormy and prolonged applause)

CSO: 1800

## BODYUL REPORT TO MOLDAVIAN SUPREME SOVIET

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 15 Jul 77 pp 1-3

[Speech by CC CPSU member and CC CP Moldavia First Secretary I. I. Bodyul: "On the Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Tasks of the Soviets of Workers Deputies of the Moldavian SSR Stemming From the Report of CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU. Report of CC CPSU Member and CC CP Moldavia First Secretary I. I. Bodyul"]

[Excerpts] Comrade deputies!

The year 1977 will go down in the annals of our homeland as the year of the 60th anniversary of Great October and the adoption of the new USSR Constitution. It is very symbolic that these two outstanding events coincide. The October Revolution marked a historic turning point in the destinies of the peoples of multinational Russia; it gave birth to the world's first socialist state, and the new--the fourth--Constitution of the Land of the Soviets confirms that our society has achieved the mature stage of socialism and has entered the period of the building of communism.

The draft of the new constitution presented by CC CPSU General Secretary, Chairman of the Constitution Commission, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, as you know, was discussed and approved by the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, and now in accordance with the Ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has been submitted for nationwide discussion, which will run until October.

The text and musical redaction of the USSR State Hymn have been approved, and performance of it will begin as of 1 September 1977.

The sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, expressing the will of all the Soviet people, unanimously and with great enthusiasm elected CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This decision to combine the highest party and state posts in one person, for the first time in history, is the logical result of the development of socialist democracy, a brilliant reflection of the nation's acknowledgment of Lenin's party as the leader and guide of Soviet society, and it is completely consistent with the high role played by the CC CPSU

general secretary in Soviet society. The decision became possible thanks to the outstanding personal qualities of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, his great services to the party and the people, thanks to the fact that he enjoys the unlimited trust of all the Soviet people, and universal respect and recognition throughout the world.

It was with enormous joy and enthusiasm that the Moldavian people greeted the election of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, the eminent leader of the Communist Party, a wise politician, the creator of the new USSR Constitution, to the high post of head of state. Allow me, comrade deputies, in the name of this high republic forum, to congratulate Leonid Il'ich on being elected Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and to express to him our feelings of genuine love and profound respect, to wish him good health and future success in his multifaceted activities as head of the party and the state, for the sake of the triumph of communism in our country, and of peace and social progress on earth.

The decisions of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU and the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the report given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum, the submission of the draft of the new constitution for nationwide discussion and the election of Leonid Il'ich to the post of head of state--these are events of enormous political and international significance. Workers in the republic's cities and villages are experiencing feelings of profound satisfaction and patriotic pride in the worldwide-historic victory of our great socialist homeland, and with all their heart they approve and support the domestic and foreign policy of the CC CPSU; with an unprecedented labor upsurge and creative commitment they express their striving to successfully implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, and the high socialist obligations adopted in honor of the 60th anniversary of Great October.

Comrades! The Soviet Constitution--the Fundamental Law of the socialist state--confirms and defines the main principles of the social-economic system and political organization of society. "Every one of our constitutions," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasizes, "has constituted an ascending stage in the development of the socialist soviet state, a new stage in the elaboration of socialist democracy."

The first Soviet Constitution was the RSFSR Constitution of 1918, drawn up under the direction and with the immediate participation of V. I. Lenin. It confirmed the gains of October, defined the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the person of Soviet workers, peasants, and Red Army deputies, and proclaimed the basic tasks and aims of the building of socialism. On V. I. Lenin's proposal, this constitution incorporated the Declaration of the rights of the working and exploited people--a program document of the victorious socialist revolution. The basic principles of the organization of the soviet state as instituted by the 1918 Constitution retain their significance to this day, and they are further creatively developed in the improved social-political and economic structure of the USSR and the other

socialist countries. The first constitution became the fundamental source of new Soviet legislation, a powerful factor in the struggle of the working people to resolve the tasks of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism.

V. I. Lenin highly praised the first Soviet Constitution as the result of the revolutionary struggle of the working people for the victory of the proletarian revolution. He emphasized: "The Soviet Constitution was not written in accordance with any 'plan', it was not drawn up in offices nor imposed on the working people by bourgeois jurists...It recorded the experience of the struggle and the organization of the proletarian masses against the exploiters both within the country and throughout the world."

Continuing the socialist revolution begun in October 1917 were the victories won by the working people during the Civil War, the establishment of Soviet power by all peoples of former Czarist Russia, the voluntary uniting of Soviet socialist republics into the USSR. On the map of the world appeared history's first socialist state, something never before seen. The formation of the union of equal, sovereign republics was legislatively fixed in the constitution adopted on 31 January 1924 by the Second All-Union Congress of USSR Soviets. It formulated Leninist postulates and principles of socialist federation; it confirmed the equal rights of the nationalities, and democratic centralism was confirmed as the organizational basis of the structure of the union state and the activity of its authorities. This USSR Constitution--the final state document formulated with the direct participation of V. I. Lenin--became his undying legacy to posterity to hold sacred and strengthen the friendship of nations, their unity in the struggle for common ideals, the embodiment of which is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

A third historic milestone in the constitutional development of our country was the 1936 USSR Constitution now in effect. It reflected the profound changes that had taken place in Soviet society and state structure in connection with the building of the foundations of socialism, it legislatively fixed the victory of socialist social relations in the USSR, and it brought the political superstructure into line with them. The 1936 Constitution proclaimed that all power in the USSR belongs to the working people of the city and the villages in the person of the Soviets of Workers Deputies; it introduced the principle of universal, equal direct suffrage with secret voting; it expanded the democratic rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens.

Many of the constitutional norms worked out at that time continue to meet the needs of our system. At the same time, in the more than 40 years that have passed since that time there have been enormous changes in Soviet society and in the international arena. In his report at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev presented a profound analysis of these changes and comprehensively substantiated the necessity of adopting a new constitution.

The economic basis of the country has undergone radical, qualitative changes; the basis, as is well known, predetermines any political superstructure. In our country, socialist ownership and the production relations that are inherent in it have come to prevail inseparably. A mighty national economy complex has developed and is operating successfully. The growth of the country's economic potential is evidenced by the following data: in 1940 the level of Soviet industrial production was 31 percent compared with the United States; in 1975 it had risen to 80 percent; and in 1980, the USSR's industrial production should be nine percent above the United States level in 1975.

Shifts in economic development have led to changes in the social structure of Soviet society, in which a new, historic community has evolved--the Soviet people. In 1939, working people constituted 32.5 percent of the country's population; at present the figure is 61.2 percent. In 1939, there were 84 persons having a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education for every 1,000 workers; at present the figure is 732. In terms of proportion, in 1939 the peasantry constituted 47.2 percent of the country's population; now the figure has dropped to 16.4. In 1939, kolkhoz members with a higher or secondary education totaled 18 per 1,000; now the figure has risen to 562. The intelligentsia's role has risen substantially.

As a result of Lenin's nationalities policy, its internationalist character, and the enormous capabilities of socialism, the nations and nationalities of our country have achieved not only legal but also actual equality. On the basis of mutual trust, brotherhood, and fruitful cooperation they have rallied into an indissoluble union and constitute a new historic community--the unitary, multinational Soviet nation. The new form of our society is embodied in the party's vital theoretical and political conclusion that a developed socialist society has been built in the USSR. "We have built a new society, a society which mankind has never before known," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress. "It is a society without crises, with a steadily growing economy, mature socialist relations, genuine freedom. It is a society where a scientific materialist world view prevails. It is a society with firm confidence in the future, with bright communist perspectives. Opened up before it are the limitless expanses of future comprehensive progress."

With the building of developed socialism, with the transition of all levels of the population to the ideological-political positions of the working class, the Soviet state, which came into being as a dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a state of all the people.

The international situation has also changed in favor of socialism. The worldwide-historic victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and our successes in social-economic development have created the possibility for victory of socialist revolutions in a number of countries of Europe, Asia, and in Cuba. The transition of a large number of countries to socialism has strengthened the national-liberation movement of peoples; it has hastened the fall of the vicious colonial system and the accession

to independence of many states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The conversion of socialism to a worldwide system, the liquidation of the capitalist encirclement of our homeland, the substantial weakening of the positions of capitalism, the rise of young sovereign states in place of former colonies, and the unprecedented rise in the international prestige and influence of the Land of the Soviets--these have all radically changed the deployment of forces in the world arena. It has become genuinely possible to prevent a new world war and to arrange relations among countries based on principles of equality, mutually beneficial cooperation, noninterference in internal affairs, and peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist states.

The profound changes within the country and in the international arena are comprehensively reflected in the draft of the new constitution--an outstanding document of today, which embodies the collective wisdom of the CPSU and the Soviet people, enormous progress in economic, political, and social development, scientific definition of the real values of developed socialism. The draft summarizes all the constitutional experience of Soviet history; it enriches it with new content to meet the demands of today's era. It is based on the accomplished renewal and perfecting of Soviet legislation; it utilizes the experience of constitutional development of the fraternal socialist countries.

The rising scale and complexity of the tasks to be resolved by the Soviet people under the guidance of the party, the higher organization of social and state structure under developed socialism, and the broad political and theoretical foundation of the draft of the new constitution have defined the purposefulness of the Fundamental Law and its structure. It contains 21 chapters and 173 articles as against 13 chapters and 146 articles in the present constitution. The introduction of new sections, chapters, and articles has made it possible to elucidate more fully the basic constitutional postulates and principles affected vitally important spheres of state and social life, to more profoundly reveal the social-class essence of Soviet socialist democracy and the characteristic features of our system.

The draft of the constitution begins with a preamble which summarizes the results of the historic path traveled by the Soviet people; it confirms the achievement of a developed socialist society; it characterizes it extensively.

Consistent with Leninist tradition, the draft not only reflects the great social-economic and political gains of socialism but also legislatively defines the party's program goals. The draft begins by stating: "The highest goal of the Soviet state is to build a classless communist society."

Section 1 of the draft constitution--"Principles of Social-Political and Economic Structure"--opens with a chapter dealing with a characterization of the USSR's political system. It points out that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, reflecting the will and interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, of all nations and nationalities of the country." The draft

proclaims that all power belongs with the Soviet people. In accordance with this, representative bodies of authority will now be called Soviets of Peoples Deputies.

Naturally, a state of the whole people is not a supra class organization. The unity of nationwide and class principles in the Soviet state has been achieved as a result of all other levels of working people having gone over to the ideological-political positions of the working class; they have accepted its Marxist-Leninist ideology and communist ideals.

In the new constitution, the decisive factor of the USSR's political system is the postulate concerning the role of the CPSU as the guiding and directing force of Soviet society, the nucleus of all state and social organizations. Armed with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the CPSU defines the general perspective of society's development and the line of Soviet domestic and foreign policy; it supervises the ambitious creative activities of the Soviet people and imparts a systematic, scientifically substantiated character to its struggle for the victory of communism. This role of the CPSU derives from the logical social development under socialism; it was won through the CPSU's dedication to the ideals of justice, peace, and social progress. Our party exists for the people and serves the people.

When drawing up constitutions, the ruling classes of the bourgeois countries bypass the question as to the guiding and directing force of a particular capitalist state, the philosophy to which it adheres. The authors of such constitutions cannot and do not wish to openly acknowledge that monopolistic capital and its bosses--the big owners of the means of production, financiers, and bankers--control the destinies of the capitalist countries. Serving as ideological principles in bourgeois constitutions are various kinds of religious dogmas or references to divine "Providence." Ringing phrases about "the freedom of the individual" and abstract "justice" serve as a screen to conceal the basic nature--the right of the capitalist to exploit those who do not have means of production and who for this reason are obliged to sell their labor.

History knows the directives of Napoleon Bonaparte to the jurists--the concoctors of the 1799 French Constitution. He told them: "Write briefly and obscurely." Although since that time bourgeois legalists have concocted many new constitutions, in general they have not departed much from this Napoleonic concept.

The draft of the Soviet Constitution accords considerable space to characterizing the economic system. It retains the theoretical postulates to the effect that the basis of the USSR's economic system comprises socialist ownership of the means of production.

Expressing the fundamental features of the present stage in the development of the national economy, the draft states that the USSR's economy constitutes a unified national economy complex embracing all links of social production,

distribution, and exchange over the entire territory of the country. This most important postulate of the constitution legislatively confirms the creation of a qualitatively new productive force as embodied in the combined economies of the union republics; it insures the successful development of both the country as a whole and each separate region in it.

The advantages of such a unified organization of economic system are manifested in the enormous power of the USSR, the inexhaustibility of its resources, the successful development of each republic. It is thanks to this productive-economic unity, cooperation, and division of labor that Moldavia is developing practically all sectors of the national economy and achieving high rates of increase in national income. The republic has set up large enterprises and associations that fully meet today's requirements with respect to the concentration of production and sector specialization and, as a result, Moldavia's industrial potential is growing at rapid rates. Compared with an overall growth of 131 times in the USSR's industrial potential from 1913 through 1975, in Moldavia it rose by 226 times. A similar situation obtain in agriculture: throughout the country as a whole, gross farm production during that period rose by 3.1 times; in Moldavia the figure was 5.3. During the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the republic's gross industrial volume rose by 56 percent, agriculture by 22 percent; during the Tenth Five-Year Plan this indicator should be respectively 47 and 37 percent.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution more fully reflects the social policies of the CPSU. It states that the highest aim of social production under socialism is to more fully meet the people's rising material and spiritual needs and that the state is systematically implementing a course of action aimed at raising wages and increasing workers' real income in accordance with increased labor productivity. It is important to note, at the same time, that in our country retail prices on basic consumer goods remain stable over a long period of time. In addition, the prosperity of the working people is also rising as a result of increased social consumption funds. If to the indicators of average monthly wages in 1976 we add payments and benefits from social funds, the total income per worker comes to 206 rubles.

Section 2 of the draft constitution is headed: "The State and the Individual." The reality of our life, socialistic reality as confirmed in constitutional norms, convincingly demonstrates the structuring and functioning of Soviet society in full accordance with the highest principles advanced by K. Marx and F. Engels in the "Communist Party Manifesto." The first program of the Communist Movement states: "The free development of each constitutes a condition for the free development of all." The harmonious reconciliation of social and individual interests is possible only under socialism, on the basis of social ownership coupled with fair distribution in accordance with labor and in accordance with the quality and quantity of the labor.

In addition to confirming and proclaiming the general principle of equality among citizens in all fields of economic, political, social, and cultural life, regardless of origin, social or property status, nationality or race



affiliation, sex, education, language, religious preference, the type and nature of job, place of residence, or other circumstances, the draft constitution substantially deepens, develops, and expands postulates concerning the specific rights and freedoms of citizens. They are infinitely broad and various, starting with the right to work, administer production, and decide questions of distribution and conception, and ending with the right to take part in all political measures.

While proclaiming the broad rights and freedoms of citizens, the USSR Constitution guarantees them by law. The right to work in accordance with inclination, capabilities, and education received is guaranteed by the socialist system of management, by the steady rise in society's productive forces, by free vocational training, and by upgraded labor qualification.

The right to rest is guaranteed by the institution of the 41-hour work week for workers and employees and a shortened work day for a number of jobs characterized by difficult working conditions, and by offering paid vacations and other types of guarantees which all USSR citizens enjoy.

The right to an education--a magnificent social gain of the people--is guaranteed by free instruction, by the provision of universal obligatory secondary education, by the extensive development of vocational-technical secondary specialized and higher education, by state stipends, paid leave for correspondence students, and so on.

Only with the victory of the socialist revolution did the working people in Moldavia begin to share in the knowledge accumulated by mankind. At present, for every 1,000 people employed in the national economy there are 656 persons with a higher or secondary education. With a population of 3.9 million the republic has 286,000 specialists with a higher or secondary specialized education; their proportion among workers has risen from 6.9 percent in 1959 to 15.2 percent in 1975. At the time of its formation, the Moldavian SSR had 180 scientific workers; now there are more than 7,000; they are working in dozens of scientific-research institutions and VUZ's, making substantial contributions to the development of Soviet science and technology.

The constitution guarantees the right of citizens to material security in old age, in case of sickness, loss of the ability to work, and so on. In Moldavia there are more than 650,000 inhabitants receiving pensions and subsidies. Expenditures for these purposes come to 243 million rubles this year; this is almost 26 times more than in 1940. The implementation of the social program worked out by the 25th CPSU Congress will make it possible in our republic to boost the amount of pensions paid to 400,000 people.

The rights of citizens to health care have been expanded. This is primarily reflected in the strengthened material and technical base of medical facilities, in the larger number of qualified physicians, in the expanded system of resort and sanatorium treatment, in the implementation of a complex of preventive measures.

For the first time in the history of constitution legislation, citizens are given the right to housing. Among our people this right has been in existence practically from the first years of Soviet power, and now this important social gain is instituted in the Fundamental Law. It is guaranteed by the constantly growing volume of state construction of housing, the fair distribution of housing under social control, protection of the housing inventory, state cooperation with cooperative and individual housing construction and low rents.

Articles 46 and 47 of the draft of the USSR Constitution, respectively, guarantee the rights of citizens to take advantages of cultural achievements and freedom of artistic and other creativity. In our republic, creative work is being done by almost 2,000 writers, artists, composers, movie makers, architects, and journalists. Various kinds of folk creativity, amateur artistic traditions, and high professional art characterize the present-day culture of Soviet Moldavia. In the post war period, the number of public libraries has increased by eight times, books and journals in them by 17 times, the number of places in club facilities by almost 20 times. Such types of cultural activity as movie going, concerts, television watching, and participation in amateur arts activity have become permanent elements in the structure of our people's leisure time.

The draft not only retains but also reflects much more fully the political rights and freedoms of Soviet people: freedom of speech, the press, assembly, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations. It stipulates and guarantees the inviolability of the individual and the home, the protection by law of the personal life of citizens, secret correspondence and telephone and telegraph communications, the right of citizens for court defense against infringements on their life, health, property, individual liberty, and the right to respect and dignity.

We have discussed only a few of the extremely broad code of social-economic rights stipulated by the draft of the constitution, embracing all aspects of the people's life. Taken altogether, they testify to the status of man's position in a socialist society. "Now," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech on television on 29 May of this year, "every Soviet citizen is convinced that he will never be unemployed, that he will be given the necessary education, that his gifts and talents will find use, and that he will not be cast to the whim of fate in the event of sickness, that he will be provided for in his old age, and that he can be certain of the fate of his children."

We hold immeasurably precious the rights and freedoms gained in labor and in struggle and confirmed in the draft of the Fundamental Law. But rights and duties go hand in hand. There are no, there cannot be, rights without obligations. The draft constitution states: "The exercise of rights and freedoms is inseparable from the citizen's execution of his obligations." The range of duties is a broad one: to work conscientiously, to safeguard and strengthen socialist property, to defend the socialist homeland, and to promote friendship among peoples. Every citizen is obliged to concern himself

with the education of children, the keeping of social order, protecting the country's natural resources, and helping to strengthen the power and prestige of his homeland. It is the duty of everyone to struggle decisively with anti-social elements who, abusing the humanitarianism of our society and Soviet democracy, make unlawful use of the fruits of the labor of the people and the country's resources and by their unworthy acts inflict harm on our society and discredit its foundations.

In discussing the draft of the new constitution, all working people are unanimous in their support of these postulates of the country's Fundamental Law.

Section 3 of the draft of the new constitution deals with the national-state structure of the Soviet Union. Article 69 states: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an integrated, unified multinational state formed as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary union of equal Soviet socialist republics."

Reflecting the objective process of rapprochement among the nations and nationalities of our country, the draft constitution proceeds on the basis of the necessity of strengthening the state's union principles. This is reflected in the definition of the USSR's jurisdiction. In contrast to the present constitution, the draft defines the basic spheres within which the higher bodies of authority and administration in the USSR exercise their powers. The draft states that the sovereign rights of the union republics are protected by law. They have the right to take part in deciding questions relating to the governing of the USSR. The union republics, in the form of higher bodies of state authority, are given the right of legislative initiative.

V. I. Lenin stated: "The soviets, which the people managed to set up completely independently, constitute a form of democratism which has no equal in any other country." The essence of the soviets, as the highest form of democracy, is now constitutionally defined in the draft constitution in special Section 4. Article 92 states that the soviets, both directly and through the authorities they have set up, supervise all sectors of state, economic, and social-cultural development; they make decisions, see to their execution, exercise control over the implementation of decisions. At different stages of the development of our state, the soviets have been called different things: "Soviets of Workers and Peasants Deputies," "Soviets of Workers Deputies." According to the draft constitution, they will be called "Soviets of Peoples Deputies." The transition from one designation to another testifies to the expanded social base of the soviets, the further development of socialist democracy. The new name of the soviets reflects the profound processes that have taken place in Soviet society and led to the transformation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to a state of the whole people.

Since they are all-encompassing organizations, the soviets are representative and truly people's bodies of state authority. This is graphically indicated especially by the makeup of the deputies. At recently-held elections, 34,363 deputies were elected to the republic's local soviets. They included 69.4 percent workers and kolkhoz members; 37.3 percent were aged 30 or younger; 47.2 percent of the deputies were elected for the first time.

Among the deputies to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, workers and kolkhoz members constitute 51.8 percent; party members constitute 66.7; women constitute 36 percent. In the republic's Supreme Soviet, 65.4 percent are Moldavians, 16.4 percent of the deputies are age 30 or less, 22 deputies hold scientific degrees and titles; 8 have been given the title Hero of Socialist Labor.

In addition to deputies, about 500,000 persons take active part in various social activity bodies set up in affiliation with the soviets and their executive committees, divisions, and administrations. Lenin's words are becoming a reality: "Our goal is for every worker to perform state functions without pay after serving his eight-hour 'stint' of productive work; the transition to this is especially difficult, but only such a transition guarantees the final consolidation of socialism."

A vital role in the soviets' performance of legislative, executive, and control functions is played by the permanent commissions, in which more than 27,000 deputies work. They regularly examine and submit for discussion at soviet sessions and conferences of executive committees the questions touching on the development of industry, agriculture, construction, health care, consumer services, housing and communal management, safeguarding of the public order, execution of the wishes of the voters, and so on.

Within the multifaceted activities of the soviets we are obliged to mention the existence of serious shortcomings, especially in efforts to increase production effectiveness and improve the utilization of local reserves and capabilities for providing the working people with a broad assortment of essential goods and transport and to improve public communal-utility and cultural services. Some rural soviets are failing to function as active organizers in village beautification, in providing help to those building houses, and in making proper use of subsidiary plots. Also on a level below party and soviet legal requirements is the resolution of matters pertaining to the safeguarding of lands, the environment, water resources, and fauna. There are also shortcomings in the work of soviets with regard to organizing public education, cultural development, and maintenance of public order.

A precise program of action for all soviets, from top to bottom, was laid out by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and at the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 17 June 1977. He stated: "The soviets comprise a vital, mobile, constantly self-renovating organization of people. Just as at one time they managed to unite into a single mainstream the revolutionary movement of the masses and their efforts in the building of socialism, now as well, under conditions of mature socialism, the work of the soviets must even more fully incorporate the struggle to increase the effectiveness of production, to implement the party's broad

social program, to develop all aspects of our socialist democracy--that is, to resolve the tasks of the building of communism."

The soviets and their executive and command authorities must constantly check their own work and the work of all organizations and departments and officials against the stipulations of the constitution; they must direct their efforts toward constantly complying with its stipulations concerning both the rights and duties of citizens. It is the direct duty of the soviets to be sensitive and responsive to the needs and requirements of the working people, to take account of their opinion in resolving production economic, cultural, and social tasks.

In the field of industry, the main task now is to insure the growth rates of industrial production planned for this year and the five-year plan as a whole, to systematically improve product quality, constantly adopt achievements of the scientific-technical revolution in production, and boost the labor productivity and effectiveness of every sector.

With regard to capital construction, it is essential to provide construction projects with better manpower and materials, to see to it that projects are put into operation on time. Through the more effective participation of the soviets and their thousands of active members in the resolution of problems of capital construction it is essential to accelerate the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake. It is essential to make the fullest possible use of the material, financial, and other resources provided by the state for the construction of housing, child care facilities, schools, hospitals, and other social facilities.

In order to insure the further successful development of agriculture, the soviets must comprehensively promote the concentration of agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration, specialization of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves, industrialization of labor, and intensification of all production processes.

The grain farmers of Moldavia are now engaged in harvesting grain crops and are simultaneously procuring feeds and taking care of row crops. The harvesting of fruits and vegetables is underway. It is the duty of the soviets to take active part in resolving these difficult tasks and to insure the fulfillment of obligations adopted by agricultural workers during the year of the 60th anniversary of Great October.

Comrades! The draft of the new USSR Constitution is a document of historic significance, one which legislatively confirms the social-economic and social-political achievements of the Soviet people. It has been received with great interest and approval by all progressive mankind, and has been justly called by our friends abroad a manifesto of the era of the formation of communism.

At present, the draft of the new USSR Constitution is at the focus of attention of the Soviet people. The draft and the tasks deriving from the speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU have been discussed at meetings of the active party membership of the republic, cities, and rayons, at the first sessions of city and rayon soviets of the new convocation, and at open meetings in primary party organizations. Rallies have been held by working collectives to discuss this issue; general, trade union, and Komsomol meetings are held. More than 12,000 different meetings have already been held. They were attended by 1.365 million citizens; more than 70,000 persons spoke, and more than 70,000 proposals and requests were submitted.

Actively engaged in interpreting the Fundamental Law are management cadres, deputies, party and social organization activists, propagandists, eminent figures in science and culture, and national economy specialists. A great deal of work is being done by the press and by television and radio in the republic.

The nationwide discussion of the draft is taking place in an atmosphere of high patriotic enthusiasm, of close solidarity of workers, farm workers, the intelligentsia, and our young people around the CPSU. Taking in every article of this outstanding document with all their heart, the Soviet people see in it the embodiment of the magnificent successes achieved under the guidance of Lenin's party in six decades of revolutionary creation. Representatives of the older generation see in the new constitution the magnificent results of their labor and struggle over many decades. For the young people it represents their present and their future.

The people are saying: everything that is dear to us and constitutes the essence of our life is found in the draft of the new constitution. It precisely and clearly reflects the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU, the enormous experience of the party and the people; it extensively delineates the rights and duties of citizens. It appeals to the minds and hearts of those who know how to labor honorably and conscientiously, for whom nationalistic arrogance and prejudices are alien, for whom peace on earth and concord among nations represent spiritual needs and matters of conscience.

Comrade deputies! At the May Plenum of the CC CPSU Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev stated that the USSR Constitution will serve as the basis for the formulation and adoption of constitutions of the union republics, and he recommended that efforts to prepare them get underway. On the agenda of the present session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is this item: "Preparation of a New Draft Moldavian SSR Constitution." It will be necessary to choose a Constitutional Commission, which will be responsible for preparing an appropriate draft.

The necessity of drawing up and adopting a new constitution for the Moldavian SSR is based on the same objective factors and radical changes that have taken place in all spheres of social life, factors on which the draft of the new national constitution is structured.

As we know, the first Soviet Moldavia Constitution was adopted on 23 April 1925 at the First All Moldavian Congress of Soviets. It signaled the logical development of the historical process of creation of socialist statehood for the Moldavian people, a process which began in the kray with the victory of Great October, was interrupted by the actions of domestic and foreign counter-revolution, and was again restored in left-bank Moldavia after the civil war ended. With the adoption of the first constitution, the creation of the Moldavian ASSR was legislatively formalized.

In January 1938 the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of Soviets of Moldavia adopted the second Moldavian ASSR Constitution. By that time the socialist system had triumphed in all sectors of the autonomous republic's national economy. Developing successfully in fraternal cooperation with the Ukrainian people in a unified Soviet Socialist Ukraine, the Moldavian ASSR was transformed from a backward agrarian backwater of Czarist Russian into a republic in which there was rapid development of industry, power engineering, transport, and agriculture, and a steady rise in the material well being of the people. The successes of the Moldavian ASSR, as confirmed in its constitution, played a vital role in strengthening the struggle of the working people in right-bank Moldavia to achieve liberation.

After the reuniting of the Moldavian people and the formation of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, the First Session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, held on 10 February 1941, ratified the current Moldavian SSR Constitution. It is based on the principles of the 1936 USSR Fundamental Law. At the same time, it reflected the characteristics of our republic deriving from the differing levels of economic, political, and cultural development of its right-bank compared with its left-bank regions.

The 1941 Constitution played a vital role in strengthening and regulating social relations throughout a long period in the life of the republic, packed with historic events. Ratification of it signaled the end of the division of the Moldavian people and the culmination of its heroic struggle to liberate the occupied lands and unite the people in a single Soviet state; it signaled the victory of the socialist way of life and the beginning of socialist production relations in the right-bank regions. This document signaled the legislative confirmation of the rights and freedoms of all citizens of the republic, confirmation of democratic principles in the overall political and economic system of all regions of Moldavia.

Guided by this constitution, the Moldavian people have completely eliminated capitalist elements in the cities and villages; we have converted to a socialist path of development all sectors of the economy and we have accomplished a cultural revolution and built a developed socialist society.

In the 36 years since the adoption of the 1941 Constitution, the republic has undergone radical changes. Unprecedented growth has characterized its economic potential, gross industrial production output has increased by 40 times, gross agricultural output has increased by 3.6 times, retail trade turnover in state and cooperation trading has increased by 19 times, capital investments in housing construction has increased by 150 times.

The cities and towns are growing simultaneously with the development of industry, communal and housing construction, the implementation of production integration in agriculture, and the rising standard of living of the working people. All of the radical qualitative changes in these spheres derive from processes relating to the deployment of productive forces throughout all of Moldavia's territory, to the formation of industrial and agro-industrial complexes, to the increased role played by industry and the working class in the production of social goods, the national income, the industrialization of labor, also to the increased effectiveness of all the people's activity. Moldavia, which counted only a few small provincial cities in the recent past, has been transformed into a densely populated republic with huge industrial centers, dozens of well laid-out cities, modern urban-type settlements, and large and attractive villages.

All these and other changes and the adoption of the new USSR Constitution will make it necessary to draw up and adopt a new Moldavian SSR Constitution. It must reflect the following:

- the building of developed socialism;
- the major changes that have taken place in the republic's economic development, the transformation of its national economy into an inseparable component part of the country's integrated national economy complex;
- changes that have taken place in the social form of the society and its class makeup;
- the strengthened solidarity of the peoples inhabiting the republic;
- the further democratization of the life of the Soviet people;
- expansion of the rights and freedoms of citizens; also other matters.

After preparation of a draft of the Moldavian SSR Constitution, it will be submitted for nationwide discussion, and then it will be submitted for discussion by extraordinary session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Comrades!

The Moldavian people, led by Lenin's party, unified in its thoughts and aspirations, is confidently marching along the path toward communism. The adoption of the USSR Constitution and the Moldavian SSR Constitution will mark an important milestone along that path, a brilliant testimony to the further advancing development of socialist society.

Allow me, in the name of all of you, in the name of all the Moldavian people, to convey to the Leninist Central Committee, to the CC CPSU Politburo, and to dear Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev himself, that the republic's working people unanimously support and approve the draft of the USSR Constitution; we will live and labor in accordance with its principles, in accordance with Lenin's legacies, under the banner of the party; we will insure



the completion of socialist obligations and provide a worthy greeting for the 60th anniversary of great October. (The speech by Comrade I. I. Bodyul was listened to with great attention and was frequently interrupted by prolonged applause).

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DEMIRCHYAN REPORT TO ARMENIAN SUPREME SOVIET

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 8 Jul 77 pp 1-3

[Speech to CC CP Armenia First Secretary, Deputy K. S. Demirchyan: "The Draft of the USSR Constitution and the Tasks of the Soviets of Workers Deputies of the Republic, Stemming From the Report of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU. Report of CC CP Armenia First Secretary, Deputy K. S. Demirchyan at the Session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on 7 July 1977"]

[Excerpts] Comrade deputies!

This year will take a special place in our country's history. It is the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. At the same time, it will be the year of the adoption of the new USSR Constitution--the constitution of a developed socialist society.

In circumstances of an enormous political and labor upsurge the Soviet people are preparing to give a worthy greeting to the glorious jubilee of Great October; all the working people of the Land of the Soviets are discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution with a sense of justified pride for our great socialist homeland and high consciousness of the path we have traveled and our accomplishments in circumstances of political and economic activity.

The working people of Soviet Armenia, like all the Soviet people, received with great enthusiasm the decisions of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU and the report by CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev concerning the draft of the new USSR Constitution.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's program-oriented and brilliant report is an outstanding political and ideological-theoretical document which, on a Marxist-Leninist basis, inseparably linking the theory with the practice of the building of communism, organically interrelating politics and economics, on Leninist principles of class, science, and realism, generalizes the multifaceted activity of the party and the Soviet people during the time that has passed since the adoption of the 1936 Constitution. The report profoundly analyzes the results of development of our society and the international

situation over the past decades; in compact form it presents the enormous achievements of our country in the field of domestic and foreign policy; it discloses their moral-political and social-economic wellsprings, summarizes all the basic changes that have taken place in the life of our homeland, presented a political and social-economic characterization and evaluation of these changes, presented a profound scientific substantiation of the necessity of the new constitution, and outlined the most vital tasks facing party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and other organizations in connection with the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution and the implementation of its postulates.

The Soviet people have given their unanimous support and approval to the election, at the recently completed session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The accomplishment of this vital act, the election of the CC CPSU General Secretary to this high and responsible state post, reflects the rising role of guidance and leadership of the CPSU; it is evidence of the immeasurable trust and profound respect the Soviet people and the party hold for Leonid Il'ich as an outstanding political and state figure, a true Leninist. This act constitutes a superb expression of the whole nation's acknowledgment of his enormous services in the comprehensive flourishing of our country, in the struggle for peace and progress throughout the world.

Allow me, comrades, in the name of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, in the name of all the republic's working people, in the name of all the Armenian people, to warmly and heartily congratulate Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on being elected to head our multinational state, and to wish him good health and tireless energy and inspiration in his multifaceted activities on behalf of the Soviet people, on behalf of the triumph of the great ideals of communism.

Nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution is taking place in an atmosphere of high patriotic enthusiasm and even closer rallying of the Soviet people around the CPSU.

Party members and working people of Soviet Armenia, like those of all the Soviet people, warmly approve and support the political course of action conducted by the CC CPSU and the decisions of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the draft of the new USSR Constitution.

This is convincingly demonstrated by the results of the plenum of the CC CP Armenia held on 10 June, meetings of active party membership and plenums of city and rayon party committees, and rallies and assemblies of labor collectives.

This was superbly demonstrated during the elections to local soviets of workers deputies, held on 19 June 1977 in an atmosphere of great political upsurge, and at first sessions of the soviets of the new convocation.

It is evidenced by speeches given by representatives of the working class, of the kolkhoz peasantry, and the nation's intelligentsia in the pages of the press and in television and radio broadcasts, in the numerous letters sent to party, soviet, and other bodies, and also the results of discussion of the draft in places of residence.

The widespread discussion of the draft demonstrates that the working people of our republic have accepted this vital document as a new and convincing demonstration of the Leninist Party's concern for the flourishing of the Soviet state, for the strengthening of its power and prestige, for the further development of socialist democracy, for the good of the people.

The broad, free, and business-like discussion of this truly national document is being participated in by thousands and thousands of citizens in the republic. It has become a brilliant testimony to the true democratism of the soviet system and a powerful stimulus to the further activization of the country's social life and increased creativity of the masses.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report and the draft of the new USSR Constitution have given rise to a broad wave of international responses. Our foreign friends see in the draft of the Fundamental Law the logical result of the heroic path traversed by the Soviet people under the guidance of the Communist Party, the visible result of the economic, political, and social-cultural development of Soviet society in recent decades. The enormous power of attraction of the draft of the constitution cannot be ignored even by our enemies.

We can say with confidence that in terms of its importance, its enormous influence on all aspects of the viability of Soviet society, on the whole world situation, the adoption of the new constitution will constitute a historic act and an event of epochal significance.

Closely reading the text of the new constitution, so packed with profound thought, and studying its postulates, every Soviet citizen is suffused with a sense of enormous pride for our country, for Lenin's Communist Party, for everything that has been created by the mind, talent, and selfless labor of the Soviet people, blazing a path toward communism under the guidance of the party. Studying and thinking about the draft, the thoughts of every Soviet citizen turn to the path that has been traveled and to the inspirational horizon of the future, and his heart is filled with a sense of joy and profound satisfaction, with a sense of bright optimism and faith in tomorrow.

The draft of the USSR Constitution embodies enormous creative potential. The new Fundamental Law will provide powerful impulses for the development of the broad initiative of the masses; it will become an important prerequisite for perfecting all links in management and administration; it will constitute a brilliant, inspirational example to the working people of capitalist countries who are struggling for democracy and social progress.

Comrades!

The draft of the new USSR Constitution, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, and materials of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet have been widely publicized. The republic's press has also published discussion of these issues at the plenum of the CC CP Armenia. For this reason, there is no necessity of elucidating in detail the content of these most important party-state documents. We consider it advisable to dwell on the most fundamental postulates of the draft USSR Constitution and the tasks deriving from Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report.

The main outlines of the draft constitution were presented at the 25th CPSU Congress. The Accountability Report of the CC CPSU to the Congress stated that the new USSR Constitution must reflect the great victories of socialism, must embody the basic features of developed socialist society and its political organization, the principles of administration of the national economy and other spheres of social life; it must specify the further development of socialist democracy. "In this way," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the Congress, "we will emphasize the humanitarian character of the socialist state--a state which sets as its goal that of building communism for the sake of the vital interests of the working people, for the sake of the vital interests of the whole people." These directives have been fully embodied in the draft of the new constitution.

The draft of our country's Fundamental Law embodies the main principles of the social-economic system and the political organization of Soviet society.

The first Soviet Constitution was the 1918 RSFSR Constitution, drawn up under the supervision and with the direct participation of V. I. Lenin. It consolidated the gains of October and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviets of Workers, Peasants and Red Army Deputies; it proclaimed the basic tasks and goals of the building of socialism.

In 1922, the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR united the soviet republics into a single union state--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This magnificent gain of Lenin's nationalities policy--a policy of friendship and fraternal cooperation among all nations--became embodied in the 1924 USSR Constitution. It was based on Leninist principles of the free union of equal nations. It demonstrated to the working people of the world the creation of a multinational state on the basis of proletarian internationalism and close cooperation among all nations and nationalities.

The victory of socialism in the USSR in the mid-1930's gave rise to the necessity of drawing up and introducing a new constitution. The USSR Constitution adopted on 5 December 1936 reflected the profound changes that had taken place in the Soviet social and state structure in connection with the building of the foundations of socialism; it legislatively embodied the victory of socialist social relations in the USSR; it brought the political superstructure into line with them.

The 1936 Constitution proclaimed that all power in the USSR belongs to the working people of the cities and villages, represented by the soviets of workers deputies. It introduced the principle of universal, equal, and direct suffrage with the right to secret voting; it expanded the array of democratic rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. Many of the constitutional norms drawn up then even now continue to be consistent with the essence of our system.

At the same time, as was emphasized at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, in the more than 40 years that have passed since then there have been enormous changes in Soviet society and in the international arena.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the plenum presented a profound analysis of these changes and comprehensively substantiated the necessity of adopting a new constitution. It brilliantly and convincingly demonstrated that a new USSR Constitution constitutes a worthy result of this more than 40-year path traveled by the Soviet state and its people, under the guidance and leadership of the CPSU.

These were truly years and decades of the consolidation of the victory of socialism in our country, of the heroic valor and selfless labor and struggle of the Soviet multinational people for their socialist homeland, defending its freedom, independence, and honor during the most difficult war in history.

These were years and decades of the coming of age and genuine economic, political, and social-cultural flourishing of the Soviet Union and each of its republics, of a steady rise in the material and spiritual well being of the working people, of the further strengthening of the monolithic unity and friendship of peoples, of a rapid growth of international ties and cooperation, of rapprochement between nations and nationalities, of the confirmation of new socialist relations among all peoples of our country, of the formation and development in the USSR of a new historic community of people--the Soviet people.

These were years and decades of active processes of rapprochement of social principles and confirmation of the social homogeneity of our socialist society, of diminished differences among its classes and groups, of further new development of Soviet democracy, of strengthened socialist legality and law and order, of consolidated gains of socialism in the field of democracy and rights of citizens and constitutional guarantees of them.

These were years and decades of unprecedented growth, of comprehensive development and strengthening of the social-political foundation of the Soviet state, which today has become one of the most powerful nations in the world; these were years during which our society became transformed into a developed socialist society, when the world's first country of victorious socialism became the first to undertake the practical resolution of the tasks of the building of communism.

These were years and decades of the development of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism in management of the national economy and the affairs of socialist society, of improved administration in the sphere of politics, social life, and economy, elevating them to a level consistent with modern requirements, imparting to them qualitatively new directions and organizational principles.

Over the past four decades, serious changes have taken place in the country's economy, which now constitutes a unified, powerful national economy organism, in the social structure of Soviet society, and in the Soviet state, which has been transformed from a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people.

These were years that genuinely demonstrated the ever-increasing organizational and leadership role of the ruling CPSU in the USSR's political system, under whose guidance the Soviet people have accomplished a triumphant march toward developed socialism.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev remarked at the 25th CPSU Congress: "We have created a new society--a society such as mankind has never before known. It is a society without crises, with a steadily growing economy, mature socialist relations, and genuine freedom. It is a society where the scientific materialist world view prevails. It is a society of firm confidence in the future, of bright communist perspectives. Opened up before it are the limitless expanses of further comprehensive progress."

Proceeding on its achievements, the Soviet people, under the guidance of the party, is now resolving more complex historical tasks--tasks of building the material-technical base of communism, of gradually transforming socialist relations into communist relations, of educating the people in the spirit of communist consciousness.

In speaking about factors on the international plane that are giving rise to the necessity of drawing up a new constitution, they involve the fact that drastic changes have taken place in the whole social-political shape of the world--especially the international status of the USSR. The world-historical victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War not only made it possible to defend the freedom and independence of our homeland but also opened up new favorable prospects for the growth of the forces of peace and social progress. The transformation of socialism into a world system, liquidation of the capitalist encirclement of our homeland, the substantial

weakening of the position of capitalism, the rise of dozens of new, sovereign states to replace former colonies, and the unprecedented rise of the prestige and influence of the Land of the Soviets--all of these have radically changed the deployment of forces in the world arena; they have given rise to genuine possibilities of preventing a new world war and introducing principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations.

The profound changes that have taken place within the country and in the international arena are thoroughly reflected in the draft of the new constitution. As was mentioned at the plenum of the CC CPSU, the draft of the country's Fundamental Law summarizes all the constitutional experience of Soviet history and enriches this experience with new content to meet the requirements of the current era. It is based on the renovation and perfecting of Soviet legislation that have been accomplished in recent years; it also utilizes the experience of constitution development in the fraternal socialist countries.

The rise in the scale and complexity of the tasks to be resolved by the Soviet people under the guidance of the party at the present stage of the building of communism, the higher organization of the social and state system under the conditions of developed socialism, and the broad political and theoretical foundations of the draft of the new constitution have left their mark on its content, structure, and size.

Comparison of the draft with the Fundamental Law now in effect shows that the new USSR Constitution calls for eight new chapters and 27 new articles. The inclusion of new sections, chapters, and articles has made it possible to more fully elucidate the fundamental constitutional postulates and principles touching on the vitally important spheres of state and social life, to more fully disclose the social-class essence and directionality of developed socialism, and new features inherent to our system.

One of the central and most important postulates of the draft of the new USSR Constitution has evoked profound satisfaction among the working people: it presents an elaborated description of the role of the CPSU in the political system of Soviet society.

At all stages of the building of socialism and communism, our party, created and nurtured by great Lenin, has honorably and worthily carried out the historic mission assigned to it; it has represented the vanguard of the working people, tried and tested in the struggle for the nation's well being. The CPSU, as is mentioned in the draft constitution, is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system, of all state and social organizations; it exists for the people and serves the people. Armed with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, it maps out the general perspectives of society's development, the line of the domestic and foreign policies of the USSR; it manages the great creative activities of the Soviet people. An innovative, pioneer, and creative party, it imparts a systematic, scientifically-substantiated character to our people's struggle for the victory of communism.



Consistent with Leninist tradition, the graph not only reflects the great social-economic and political gains of socialism but also stipulates the program-oriented directives of our party. The draft states: "The highest goal of the Soviet state is to build a classless communist society."

The draft of the Fundamental Law presents an elaborated characterization of the political system of our country. It states: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, of all nations and nationalities of the country."

The draft of the USSR Constitution proclaims that all power belongs to the Soviet people. Consistent with this, from now on the representative bodies of authority will be known as Soviets of Peoples Deputies.

Naturally, a state of the whole people does not constitute a supraclass organization. The unity of nationwide and class principles in the Soviet state has been achieved as a result of the fact that all other levels of working people have gone over to the ideological-political positions of the working class; they have accepted its Marxist-Leninist ideology and communist ideals.

The socialist state of the whole people remains the chief tool in the hands of the Soviet people in the cause of building a communist society. The requirements of developed socialism and its gradual transition to communism require not a weakening but a strengthening of the state, the fullest possible release and utilization of all its creative, constructive, and organizing capabilities.

The social organizations have always been and continue to be the party's assistants, loyal and true, as V. I. Lenin put it, participants in state administration (V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," Vol 37, p 501). Their importance as an inseparable part of the political system and a vital channel for recruiting working people to administer the affairs of society is growing especially under conditions of developed socialism, when they encompass practically all the country's adult population. It is the direct duty of social organizations--trade unions, the Komsomol, the cooperatives, and other associations and creative unions of working people--to actively promote the recruitment of the masses of people to matters of administering production and distribution, science, culture, education, and health care.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution assigns a prominent place to social organizations; it raises their prestige and significance in the political system even higher. They are given the right to take part in resolving political, economic, and social-cultural problems; they have the right of legislative initiative.

The new Fundamental Law further develops the democratic principles of the formation and activities of the soviets; it calls for strengthening their role in resolving vital problems in the life of society. The draft reflects

the enormous amount of work done in recent years under the guidance of the CPSU to strengthen the soviets and to elevate their role in the state administration of economic and social-cultural development. The draft calls for substantially expanding the rights of the soviets on all levels--especially local soviets.

The draft sets new terms of office for Soviets of People's Deputies. The term is five years for the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics; it is 2.5 years for kray and oblast Soviets of Peoples Deputies, soviets of autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, city, rayon, city rayon, settlement, and rural soviets of peoples deputies.

The draft calls for strengthening the democratic principles of the election system. Whereas in the present constitution the right to be elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet is conferred only on persons who have reached the age of 23, or the age of 21 in the case of candidates for the supreme soviets of the union republics, now all Soviet citizens over the age of 18 will be given this opportunity.

All sections of the new constitution are suffused with the ideas of the systematic, profound, and genuinely people's democratism inherent to a state of the whole people.

It was emphasized at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU that the main direction in the development of Soviet society's political system is the further elaboration of socialist democracy. This postulate is superbly reflected in the draft constitution. The draft maps out the ways of development of this process--increasingly broad participation of the working people in administering the affairs of society and the state, improvement in the state apparatus, increased involvement of social organizations, stronger people's control, strengthened legal foundations of state and social life, more openness, and constant taking account of public opinion.

The draft of the USSR Constitution profoundly reflects the further expansion of the social-economic, political, and individual rights and freedoms of Soviet people. Life itself, socialist reality, as fixed in constitutional norms, graphically demonstrates that our society is confidently developing in accordance with the loftiest principles expressed by K. Marx and F. Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party": "...The free development of each is a condition of the free development of all." A distinguishing feature of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens is the fact that they are guaranteed. The Fundamental Law of the Soviet state, in contrast to the formalistically proclaimed rights in the constitutions of the bourgeois countries, is based on the genuine guarantee of rights, on the fact that they are materially secured by the socialist state. As the social wealth and development of socialism grow larger, these guarantees become steadily stronger; rights and freedoms are filled with new content. This process is embodied in the draft constitution.

For the first time, the constitution stipulates and guarantees the rights of citizens to take part in administering state and social affairs. Soviet citizens have actually broadly enjoyed this right, but until now it has not been stipulated constitutionally. The more extensive utilization of this right will promote increased political involvement on the part of all levels of the population; it will help to strengthen their control over the activities of state bodies.

A new constitutional right enjoyed by Soviet citizens will be the right to housing. It has become possible to guarantee this right, and it will become more fully secured, as a result of the implementation of a broad program of housing construction at state expense, of the fair distribution of housing space under social supervision, of low rents, of the encouragement and promotion of cooperative and individual housing construction. Our new constitution is one of the first in the world to proclaim the right to housing.

Even those rights that are stipulated in the 1936 Constitution will be further developed; their content will become more profound, and guarantees will be stronger. It is well known, for example, that the present constitution proclaims the right to work--that is, the right to be guaranteed a job, with wages consistent with the amount and quality of the work. The draft of the new constitution not only confirms this right but also goes considerably further, guaranteeing the right to choose one's profession, type of occupation, and job consistent with inclinations, capabilities, professional training, and education, taking account of social requirements. Our society backs this up with free vocational training, upgrading of labor qualifications, and retraining in new specialties.

Also considerably enriched is the right to an education. At present it is secured by providing universal obligatory secondary education for young people, also the extensive development of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher education.

The new constitution stipulates the right of citizens to state health care, possible only under socialism. This right is actually provided through a whole complex of interconnected social measures.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution places the family, motherhood, and childhood under special protection of the Soviet state. More extensive than the existing constitutional right--both in terms of the range of persons covered and in terms of its actual provision--is the right of Soviet citizens to material security in old age or in the event of sickness or full or partial loss of the ability to work or the loss of the family breadwinner.

Thus, the draft constitution stipulates a broad complex of social-economic rights which affect the very foundations of the life of the people. Taken all together, these rights testify to the firm status of man in a socialist society. In his speech on television on 29 May 1977, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Now, every Soviet citizen is confident that he will never be unemployed, that he will be given the necessary education, that his gifts and

talents will be used, that he will not be cast to the whim of fate in the event of illness, that he will be provided for in old age, and that he can be sure of the destiny of his children."

The draft not only retains but also substantially more fully formulates the political rights and freedoms of Soviet people: freedom of speech, the press, assembly, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations.

A significant addition to constitutionally guaranteed rights of the individual will be the right of citizens to submit to state and social bodies proposals for improving their activities, the right to criticize shortcomings in their work.

It is important to remark, however, as pointed out in the draft, that citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms must not damage the interests of society and the state or the rights of other citizens.

In his report at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev specially emphasized that the main guarantee of the rights of Soviet citizens in the long run is the power and flourishing of the homeland, that every citizen must have a sense of responsibility to society, must voluntarily perform his duties to the state and the people. The draft points out that the exercising of rights and freedoms is inseparable from the citizen's performance of his obligations.

Every member of our society must evince a sense of high civic responsibility. This means it is necessary to improve work being done to interpret Soviet laws and the legal indoctrination of the public, especially young people. This requires further improvements in ideological-educational work carried out by party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and all propaganda media. When discussing the draft, it is essential always to keep in mind and to extensively elucidate that the Fundamental Law of the socialist state does not confer freedoms and rights on parasites, loafers, disruptors of public order, and especially the so-called "dissidents," those renegades who find no support within our country, who strive to find support among reactionary imperialist circles.

The Soviet citizen is obliged to work honorably and conscientiously, to defend the homeland. Also acquiring the nature of a constitutional requirement are the obligations to defend the interests of the Soviet state, to promote the strengthening of its power and prestige, to help protect social order, to campaign against embezzlement and wastage of social property, to protect the environment and conserve natural resources, to be concerned with the education of children, to raise them to be worthy members of a socialist society. It is the internationalist duty of Soviet citizens to promote the development of friendship and cooperation with peoples of other countries, to support and strengthen world peace.

The draft also precisely expresses the further strengthening of socialist legality and law and order. The CC CPSU and the Soviet state have done considerable work to improve the laws, to set up firm guarantees against any violations of the rights of citizens and against bureaucratic malfeasance. Continuing along this line, the draft emphasizes that compliance with the constitution and the laws is the obligation of all state authorities and officials, social organizations, and citizens.

The draft constitution assigns a prominent place to characterizing the economic system. Fundamentally important is its stipulation that the basis of the Soviet economic system is the socialist ownership of the means of production. The draft emphasizes that the basic form of this is state ownership as the common property of the whole Soviet people. The state retains socialist ownership and creates conditions for multiplying it; it promotes the development of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership and its rapprochement with state ownership.

The principles of the Soviet economic system as stipulated in the draft constitution are directed toward insuring the further steady economic progress of our society, possibilities for the Soviet people to fully manifest their creative potential in the main sphere of human life activity--that of social production, in order to transform labor into the prime vital necessity.

Linked to the powerful growth of our socialist economy is the draft's inclusion of new and important constitutional postulates which stipulate the economic role of the socialist state. Expressing the fundamental characteristics of the present stage in the development of the national economy, the draft points out that the Soviet economy has been transformed into an integrated national economy complex which encompasses all links of social production, distribution, and exchange throughout the country. For the first time, the draft constitution includes a stipulation that the highest goal of social production under socialism is that of more fully meeting the growing material and spiritual needs of the people.

The draft confirms such an important principle of socialist economy as the combining of planned centralized management with economic independence and initiative on the part of enterprises and associations.

For the first time, the draft constitution will include a section "Social Development and Culture," which specifies such important functions of our state as the concern for the development of education, science, and art, for improving the Soviet people's working and living conditions, promoting the elimination of essential differences between the city and the village, between mental and physical labor, and strengthening the social homogeneity of society. These and other stipulations, in particular concerning the role of the labor collective and the fundamental principles of national economy management at the present stage of its development, are also of great importance.

Comrades!

The draft of the USSR Constitution expresses in compact form the wise Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU, the magnificent ideas of friendship and brotherhood among all nations and nationalities in our country. Our great homeland--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--is characterized in the draft Fundamental Law as an integrated, unified multinational state formed as the result of the free self determination of nations and the voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics. The USSR embodies the state unity of the Soviet people; it rallies all nations and nationalities for purposes of the joint building of communism.

Expressing the objective process of the rapprochement of our country's nations and nationalities, the draft constitution proceeds on the basis of the necessity of strengthening union principles of the state. This is expressed in the defining of the jurisdiction of the USSR. In contrast to the 1936 Constitution, the draft does not present an itemized list of the rights of the USSR but rather defines the basic spheres within which the higher bodies of authority and administration of the USSR exercise their powers (establishing the general principles of organization and activity of republic and local bodies of state authority and administration; insuring the unity of legislative regulation throughout the entire country; implementing a unified social-economic policy; and so on). The strengthening of all union principles as stipulated by the draft is of great importance in order to provide even closer cooperation and mutual aid among all peoples of the USSR within the framework of a unified state.

The draft, like the 1936 Constitution, emphasizes that the sovereign rights of the union republics are retained by the USSR. Represented by their higher bodies of state authority, the union republics are given the right of legislative initiative. The republics have the right to take part in the resolution (by union bodies) of issues applying to the jurisdiction of the USSR. The draft's constitutional characterization of all forms of socialist national statehood and its definition of their general legal status serve to enhance the authority of the union and autonomous republics and the autonomous oblasts and okrugs in resolving common tasks.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU: "In general, the draft's resolution of issues affecting national-state structure provides a genuinely democratic reconciliation of the common interests of the multinational Union and the interests of each of the constituent republics; it promotes the all-round flourishing and steady rapprochement among all nations and nationalities in our country."

All of us, comrades, are witnesses of and participants in the profound and massive transformations that have taken place in the life of the republic in recent decades. We are justly proud of the remarkable accomplishments of our people, born to a new life, striving to the heights of present-day progress. We are glad that our cities and villages are getting better and growing more attractive every day. We are inspired by the vigorous flourishing of the economy, science, and culture of Soviet Armenia. We can see

with our own eyes how the life of our people is becoming more prosperous, spiritually richer, and fuller with each passing year; the remarkable features of the Soviet way of life are becoming more fully and brilliantly manifested.

Everything which constitutes our pride and honor, all the achievements of our people in the building of communism, have resulted from the selfless labor of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the national intelligentsia under the guidance of the party, the wise Leninist policies of the CPSU, the indissoluble friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples, their close cooperation and fraternal mutual aid.

To protect as the apple of one's eye and in every way strengthen our multinational socialist homeland, created by the genius of Lenin, to deepen and expand the friendship and brotherhood of the Armenian people with the great Russian people and all the peoples of our country--such is the high civic duty of every party member, every worker in our republic. The Leninist friendship of peoples is the granite foundation of the further development and flourishing of all fraternal republics, of our whole state.

The close interconnection between domestic and foreign factors in our development, the enormous amount of foreign policy activity of the Soviet state, and its vitally important significance to the Soviet people have made it necessary to include in the draft USSR Constitution a special chapter on our country's foreign policy. The draft constitution legislatively confirms the course of the CPSU and the Soviet state aimed at strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, at developing cooperation with countries that have been freed from colonial oppression, at developing relations with capitalist countries in accordance with Leninist ideas of peaceful coexistence.

For the first time, the constitution will specify the stipulation that the Soviet Union is a component part of the world socialist system, the socialist commonwealth; that it develops and strengthens friendship, cooperation, and comradely mutual aid with the socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism.

Over the six decades of its existence--from Lenin's Decree on Peace to our days, so full of the intensive struggle to implement the foreign policy course of action of the 25th CPSU Congress--the Soviet state has constantly and consistently defended the cause of insuring peace and security for our homeland and all countries and nations.

Yet another brilliant testimony of the increasing prestige of the foreign policy course of action of the CPSU and the Soviet state is the recent visit by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to France, the signing of Soviet-French documents of great international importance.

The working people of Soviet Armenia, like all the Soviet people, warmly approve and unanimously support the Leninist domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU, the consistent and principled position of our state in the struggle for peace, international security, and social progress.

The draft of the USSR Constitution points out that the state insures the protection of socialist gains, the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the USSR. Our armed forces are intimately linked to the people; they count on their active support. The defense of the socialist homeland is a most vital function of the state, a matter of the whole people, of every citizen of the Soviet Union.

Thus, comrades, the draft of the new USSR Constitution is an outstanding state document, which with scientific depth and exhaustive completeness summarizes the significant results of the entire history of development of socialist society; it generalizes the brilliant achievements of our people, accomplished under the guidance of the CPSU; it stipulates the constitutional principles of a society under developed socialism.

Comrade deputies!

The free, open, and businesslike discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution that is now underway throughout the country as well as here in this republic is a genuine embodiment of the further expansion and deepening of socialist democracy, a convincing demonstration of the scope of genuine and direct participation of the people in administering the affairs of their state and society. It once again demonstrates the powerful unity of the Soviet people, their monolithic solidarity around the CPSU; it graphically confirms the truth of one of the postulates of the draft constitution to the effect that a law of life of society under developed socialism is the concern of all for the well being of each and the concern of each for the well being of all.

Expressing their faithfulness and dedication to the Leninist policies of the CPSU, their striving to further strengthen the Soviet state, working people, party members, and all citizens of Soviet Armenia are most actively engaged in the diligent study and discussion of the draft of the new Fundamental Law of the land.

As is well known, the nationwide discussion of the draft constitution will continue until the end of August of this year. During the past month, nationwide discussion was participated in by 230,577 citizens; 17,205 people spoke. Some 335 proposals were made on the draft constitution.

In accordance with established procedure, all proposals and requests of working people, expressed during discussion of the draft constitution, are summarized and sent to the Constitutional Commission.

The results of the discussion testify to the enormous political and civic commitment of the republic's working people, to their high sense of socialist statehood, to their hearty Soviet patriotism and internationalism. The draft of the new constitution has been warmly approved and supported everywhere. Speeches by working people, kolkhoz members, and representatives of broad circles of the intelligentsia, and the proposals they have introduced, reflect their sincere concern for the systematic and consistent



implementation of the policies of the CPSU and the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, for strengthening the economic and moral-political potential of the Soviet state, for the effective administration of state and social affairs. Their speeches and statements emphasize the role of the CPSU in creating the world's first socialist state, in securing the complete and final victory of socialism and the building of a developed socialist society in the USSR, the achievements of the Soviet people in building a communist society, in economic, cultural, and scientific development; they point out the steady rise in the material well being and cultural level of the people; they comment on the humanitarian nature of the Soviet state, the democratism of Soviet society, the political, economic, and social foundations of Soviet democracy, which guarantees genuine freedom and equal rights of citizens. On this background, the antihumanitarian essence of the capitalist system is unmasked, the absence of genuine guarantees of the rights and freedoms of individuals in a bourgeois society.

At the present session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, respected deputies, we can with great satisfaction remark that our people and all the working people of Soviet Armenia, in taking most active part in the nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution, are demonstrating their high political maturity and faithfulness and dedication to the ideals of communism, to the cause of the Communist Party, their close solidarity around its Central Committee.

Comrade deputies!

The draft of the USSR Constitution is a genuine manifesto of a society of developed socialism. It states that all power in the Soviet Union belongs to the people. The election campaign to elect members to local soviets, in particular election day, demonstrated with new force the genuinely popular character of power in the Land of the Soviets.

The draft of the Fundamental Law and the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU provide a new, vital source of optimism and inspiration for the country's millions of workers. This was also sensed in the solemn elation of the voting atmosphere on 19 June 1977. The people went to the voting places filled with pride for the enormous accomplishments of their country and republic, happy to be citizens of the Soviet Union and members of a developed, mature socialist society.

On that day, 1,500,367 voters in the republic--practically all the adult population--voted for deputies to local soviets, nominated by the people themselves from among their midst--both party members and nonparty members, representatives of all levels of the population, all professions, and various nationalities.

The 26,592 candidates elected by the people received from the voters an honored and at the same time responsible mandate of trust to represent them in local bodies of state authority, in bodies of popular power.

Among those who were given the high trust of the people--the most prestigious, ideologically mature people of various generations of working people in the republic--69.3 percent of the elected deputies are workers and kolkhoz members; 48.7 percent are women; one out of three is under the age of 30. Party members constitute 42.4 percent of the popularly elected candidates; the rest of them are nonparty members. They will be in charge of state affairs; they will have to effectively exercise the broad powers of the elected bodies--the soviets--and make the fullest use of the rights and capabilities of deputies chosen by the people, as stipulated by the Law on the Status of Deputies. The local soviets of the new convocation received a message of godspeed at the beginning of their activities in a speech given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 17 June 1977.

To justify the people's trust in every way, to manifest initiative and diligence, to stand guard over the interests of the state and the interests of the people--these are the responsibilities of every deputy--the people's chosen.

Comrade deputies!

The whole rich content and orientation of the draft of the new USSR Constitution opens up large possibilities for further improving the activities of the soviets, for their resolution of a great variety of new and more complex tasks deriving from the report of L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and his speech at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In this speech he remarked: "The draft constitution once more emphasizes that all soviets--both supreme and local--make up a unified system of bodies of state authority, the political foundation of the state of the whole people.

The CPSU has always proceeded on the basis that any of our soviets forms part of supreme authority, that not only is it given powers to resolve all issues within its jurisdiction but it also serves as a vehicle of national decisions. This, comrades, is an exceptionally important principle. This kind of integration of higher and local bodies, the basing of supreme authority on local initiative, reflects the basic essence of the soviets--their inseparable link to the masses of the people..."The soviets," continues L. I. Brezhnev, "constitute a vital, mobile, continuously self-renewing organization of the people. Just as at one time they managed to unite in a common mainstream the revolutionary movement of the masses and their efforts in the building of communism, now again, under conditions of mature socialism, the work of the soviets must even more fully incorporate the struggle to improve the effectiveness of production, to implement the party's broad social program, to develop all aspects of our socialist democracy--that is, to resolve the tasks of the building of communism."

Thus, we are talking about the systematic implementation of the extensive, all-encompassing powers of the Supreme Soviet and the local soviets, their unflagging attention to the development of legislation, strict and rigorous execution of laws and legislation, more profound and purposive control over the work of administration, of administrative bodies, systematic execution of the wishes of the voters, the vigorous activities of permanent commissions and deputy groups, deputies' more active utilization of their right of query in order to perform their great variety of functions, constant communication between the deputies and the voters, regular accounting to them and systematic information provided to them concerning the practical work of the bodies of state authority and, finally, improved supervision of the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium over the activities of the local soviets.

We are speaking of improving the work style and methods of the executive committee apparatuses of the soviets, of systematically executing the existing laws concerning local soviets, of exemplary conduct in work involving the receiving of citizens and reviewing their proposals, letters, and complaints so as to eliminate instances of red tape, bureaucratism, and cover-up. It is essential to see to it that every citizen is confident that his just and lawful complaints or proposals will be reviewed in good time, but that unjustified complaints and claims will be thoroughly dealt with.

It must be stated that, in implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the republic's Supreme Soviet and its Presidium have accomplished a large number of important measures on these problems, which have been approved by the CC CP Armenia. They have noticeably improved and revived the activities of the soviets in both the center and locally. Among them we should note the holding of Unified Supreme Soviet Deputy Day in the republic. On three such unified deputy days that were held, 261,000 voters met with deputies; 10,951 citizens went to deputy receptions. This measure is being responded to positively by the public. More and more use is being made of the practice of deputy queries, both at sessions of the Supreme Soviet and in local soviet sessions. Improvements are being made in the work on organizing citizens, reviewing their proposals, letters, and complaints. The Supreme Soviet and local soviets in the republic have begun to focus more attention on problems of organizing the work of the permanent commissions and executing laws governing rayon, city, rural and settlement soviets.

A high-priority task of the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, and all local soviets in the republic is that of drawing up and implementing large-scale measures aimed at further improving the activities of the soviets, consistent with the requirements of the new USSR Constitution, the tasks outlined in the report by L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and in his speech at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Comrade deputies!

Soviet Armenia, like all the union republics, being a member of an integrated family of fraternal peoples, together with the whole country has traveled that glorious path of transformations and accomplishments which is brilliantly and truthfully reflected and summarized in the draft of the new USSR Constitution. The nationwide discussion of this draft and its subsequent ratification at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in October of this year will make it possible for all the union republics, including our republic, to begin work on drawing up a draft for a new constitution of the Armenian SSR. At the present session we will have to confirm the constitutional commission designated to prepare the draft of this document so that after discussion it can be reviewed and ratified at the session of the republic's supreme soviet in early 1978. Corresponding work will have to be done on the editing of the Armenian SSR State Hymn.

Comrade deputies!

At present, discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution is at the focus of attention of the republic's social-political life. A great deal has been done. But much remains to be done. Our time, comrades, is pressed to the limit--we have less than two months--July and August. During this period we will have to continue and activate efforts to insure the maximally extensive, free and genuinely businesslike discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution; we will have to strive to more fully involve in this matter the masses of working people and representatives of all segments of the population.

At the plenum of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that this is a matter of high priority importance to all our organizations, to all our cadres; it is a vital matter to the soviets. They are called upon to reach practically the whole population, to impart to the discussion of the draft of the Fundamental Law of the land a precise and clear political directionality. All of this is stipulated in the elaborated plan of measures on organizing discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution in the republic, as formulated by the CC CP Armenia.

We must strive to see to it that the discussion helps to improve the state of affairs at all levels of social production, in all spheres of our life activity.

A vital task of the soviets is that of taking active part in organizing discussion of the draft of the country's Fundamental Law, in widespread agitation-propaganda work designed to interpret the stipulations and conclusions laid out in the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum of the CC CPSU and his speech at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 17 June of this year.

In this vital political work it is essential to more actively involve deputies, national economy specialists, scientists, all ideological institutions, and all workers on the propaganda front.

As was mentioned at the plenum of CC CP Armenia, the main content of efforts designed to interpret and propagandize the draft of the USSR Constitution must comprise the comprehensive elucidation of the achievements of the Soviet people in the building of a communist society, in developing the economy, culture, and science, an extensive demonstration of the steady rise in the material well being and cultural level of the people; it must comprise superb elucidation of the guiding role of the CPSU in the creation of the world's first socialist state, in securing the full and final victory of socialism and the building of a developed socialist society in the USSR; it must provide profound interpretation of the humanitarian nature of the Soviet state, representing above all the interests of the working people, the interests of the entire people; a convincing demonstration of the democratism of Soviet society, the political, economic, and social principles of Soviet democracy, which guarantees genuine freedom and equality to citizens; systematic propagandizing of the Soviet socialist way of life, vigorous unmasking of the anti-humanitarian essence of the capitalist system, the absence of genuine guarantees of the rights and freedoms of the individual in a bourgeois society.

Comrades!

The vital ideas of the 25th CPSU Congress, the program of further economic, social, and cultural development of our society formulated by it, the enormous organizational and political efforts of the CC CPSU for the systematic and steady implementation of this program, for nationwide preparations for a worthy greeting to the great jubilee celebration of the Soviet people and all progressive mankind--the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, discussion of the draft of the new constitution--all of these constitute the inexhaustible, life-giving soil of the new, high political and labor upsurge which prevails throughout our country and in our republic.

The working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the national intelligentsia, all the republic's working people, and every Soviet citizen consider it a matter of their honor and duty to completely fulfill adopted socialist obligations during the second, jubilee year of the five-year plan. Under the guidance of the republic's party organization, they are striving to give a worthy greeting to their great celebration; they are striving to observe the jubilee year with new, high labor achievements.

Significant successes have been achieved by the livestock farmers. The plan of sales to the state of milk, meat, eggs, and wool has been fulfilled and overfulfilled. There have been significant increases in the production of livestock products.

Compared to the same period last year, sales to the state were 11.3 percent higher in the case of meat, 9.4 percent in the case of milk, 10.6 percent in the case of eggs, and 21.7 percent in the case of wool. The average milk yield rose by more than 50 kg.

A shock-work front was and remains the accumulation of feeds. At present, efforts are underway on a broad front to accumulate coarse and succulent feeds. The task is to accumulate a record amount of feeds this year--2.2 million tons. This task must be the focus of attention of all farm workers. Farm workers are obliged to systematically strive to strengthen the economy of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, to improve the marketability of the farms, to increase the profit level, and to sharply reduce the number of farms operating at a loss.

There are also significant shifts in capital construction. The contract work plan throughout the republic as a whole was fulfilled by 102 percent; the rise in the volume of completed contract work amounts to four percent.

In all frankness, however, we must state that in this there are many unresolved tasks, and it is the duty of our construction workers to bend every effort to eliminate shortcomings and to assure the completion of construction-installation work plans--especially the commissioning of fixed assets.

Today we must demand that construction workers insure unconditional fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans stipulating the construction and commissioning of housing, schools, preschool child care facilities, and cultural-amenity projects that are directly related to the accomplishment of the social program of the Tenth Five-Year Plan in the republic. Trade turnover and consumer service plans are being fulfilled. The rise in their volume is respectively 71 percent and 13.4 percent. The population is assured a stable supply of basic food commodities.

At present, summer marketing of vegetables and fruits is in full swing. The task is to improve the quality of the marketing of these food commodities and to see that the population's needs for high quality produce are met.

As you can see, we have achieved significant successes. But we still have substantial shortcomings. During the discussion of the draft constitution, at meetings of enterprise and organization collectives, comrades giving talks are pointing out these shortcomings and proposing measures to eliminate them, to improve the work of their enterprises and organizations.

Specific proposals are being made on accelerating scientific-technical progress, on improving the effectiveness of social production, boosting labor productivity, and improving all work quality.

It is the duty of party, soviet, economic, and all other bodies and organizations to react promptly to these proposals and to take the necessary efficient steps to implement them.

In all of this, the local soviets must participate in a direct way. The task here is to see to it that every deputy, every local soviet actively and effectively organizes and fosters the resolution of all tasks facing the enterprises and organizations located in his territory.

Comrade deputies!

The time is approaching when in the capital city of our multinational Soviet homeland--the hero city of Moscow--the tolling of bells in the Kremlin's Spasskiy Tower will magnificently and proudly mark the number 60--60 truly historic years from that unforgettable day when a salvo from the legendary "Aurora" proclaimed to all the world, to all laboring mankind on our planet the chief event of the 20th century--the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the birth of the world's first socialist state, the opening up of a new era in mankind's development.

And today, discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution, fully and completely approving this historic document, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet once more expresses the sense of the unshakeable faith of the Armenian people and the republic's working people to the banner of Great October, the immortal ideas of V. I. Lenin, the ideals of social justice, peace and friendship, fraternal cooperation among nations, as reflected in this document, the sense of profound respect and gratitude toward the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its tried and true, militant headquarters--the Leninist Central Committee--for titanic efforts assuring our country of the flourishing of its glory and power, the peaceful creative labor of the peoples, the high and unshakeable international prestige of the great Soviet Union.

(The report of Comrade K. S. Demirchyan was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted with applause).

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CSO: 1800

## SHEVARDNADZE REPORT TO GEORGIAN SUPREME SOVIET

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 5 Jul 77 pp 1-3

[Speech by CC CP Georgia First Secretary, Deputy E. A. Shevardnadze: "Increase the Role of the Soviets in the Matter of Discussing and Studying the Draft of the USSR Constitution. Report of CC CP Georgia First Secretary, Deputy E. A. Shevardnadze at the Sixth Session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet on 1 July 1977"]

[Excerpts] Comrade deputies!

Today's session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution and the tasks facing the republic's soviets in connection with this extraordinarily important event in the life of the Soviet people, our state, and the party.

The May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, as is well known, discussed and in general approved the draft drawn up by the Constitutional Commission under the guidance of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, having also approved the draft constitution, decided to submit it to nationwide discussion.

Held recently was the plenum of the CC CP Georgia, which listened to a report on the results of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and mapped out organizational-party and ideological measures in connection with the discussion of the draft USSR Constitution in our republic.

A truly remarkable event in the life of the Soviet people was the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ninth convocation, which elected CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to be Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

At the Plenum of the CC CP Georgia we have already discussed the background of this event, which is of such enormous importance to the life of our party and people.



You are aware, comrades, that all stages of social development are interconnected; they complement one another.

At the present stage, when the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has become the state of the whole people, and the party of the working class has become the party of the whole people, when the great commonwealth of Soviet socialist nations has become a new historic community of people--the Soviet people--and victorious socialism has been transformed into developed, mature socialism--the distinguishing feature of this stage, its scientific logic, has become more clearly manifest--the increased role of the party in the building of communism. Consistent with this scientific logic is the decision to elect CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to be Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin teaches us--and Lenin's doctrine is reflected in the draft of the new constitution--that the soviets constitute the highest bodies of people's authority, the highest embodiment of the principles of our system's democratism, performing their functions with increasing adequacy on various segments of the building of communism as the party's role of leadership and guidance becomes stronger.

Lenin teaches that it is wrong to confuse the functions of party organs with those of the soviets. It is true that both serve a single great cause--the building of communism; they are organic component parts of a single socialist society. The party, however, as the draft constitution points out, represents the guiding and organizing force, the basic core of our political system. The party is the vanguard, the party is our helm; for this reason, the logic of developed socialism--an ever increasing role played by the party in the building of communism--assumes a day-by-day rise in the party's influence in the soviets as well. This objective logic of the party's strengthened role has taken on specific form in the act of electing Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be the head of state, and it constitutes a practical expression of the strengthened role of leadership and guidance played by the party in the soviets.

This very important political action--the election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the basis of the party's strengthened role of leadership and organization--inevitably entails expansion of the functions of the soviets, elevation of their authority. Acquiring increasingly clearer embodiment are the fundamental teachings of V. I. Lenin concerning the further improvement of the soviets as the highest manifestation of the political power of the working people.

The exceptional political and businesslike qualities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, his tireless energy and his ability to follow the only correct--the Leninist--course of action in directing the thoughts and ideas of party members and fellow thinkers, members of the Politburo, of every member of the CC CPSU, every party member, their day-to-day efforts in the building of communism, and his tireless theoretical and practical activities--these have all won for him enormous prestige not only in our party, people, and

state, but also on a world scale. It is this high prestige that accounts for the election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the post of Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Dialectics and life teach us that everything depends on time, place, conditions, and circumstances. The crucial role in the formulation and successful implementation of the Peace Program mapped out by the 24th CPSU Congress and developed by the 25th CPSU Congress, the principles governing relations--state, political, diplomatic, economic, cultural and so on--with the countries of socialism, the "Third World," and developed capitalism, belongs to the party, its Central Committee, the Politburo, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee. That is one side of the matter. The other side is that the practice of implementing such principles has required that the CC CPSU General Secretary, being the preeminent person in the party and all Soviet society, also have the appropriate powers on the state level, without which the adoption of corresponding political and state actions and documents entails certain inconveniences.

Our state is a multinational state, as is emphasized in the draft of the new constitution. The head of such a state, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, can only be one who is a genuine revolutionary-internationalist. Just such an internationalist in terms of thinking and actions is CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

A profound understanding of Lenin's nationalities policy, the ability to develop it at the present stage, many years of experience in working and circulating in the Center and in the republics, in the midst of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia, the army, and people of various nationalities these have all given Comrade L. I. Brezhnev such valuable qualities that every Soviet republic, every Soviet citizen can sense his everyday concern, support, human warmth, and consideration.

Marxist-Leninist doctrine concerning the role of the people and the individual in history, and Lenin's teaching concerning the leader and head of the party and the state, teach us that the head of the CPSU and the Soviet state must be the embodiment, the ideal model of the implementation of scientific principles of state administration. Just such an individual is Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. His work style and methods are the Leninist style and method, based on principles of collective leadership, the personal responsibility of each, the maximum development and utilization of the capabilities of each member of the collective. The practical activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev have brought down any manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism such as damaged our party and our people in the not so recent past. These are considerable gains for our party, for which we are obliged to the October 1964 Plenum of the CC CPSU, the subsequent plenums of the Central Committee, the 23rd, 24th and 25th party congresses, the day-by-day activities of the CC CPSU and its Politburo, and the struggle of our whole party in the building of a communist society.

The head of our party and state must embody in his person an example of compliance with the principles of democratic centralism; he must be a revolutionary, a democrat in character and world view, because the main direction of our society's development is the further deepening and expansion of democratic principles of life. Our whole party, the Soviet people, and the people of the world know Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev as the standard-bearer of Soviet socialist democracy.

A great democrat and remarkable humanitarian of our time, L. I. Brezhnev is an organizer of the cause of peace and the most outstanding warrior for this cause on our planet.

All of us--we who represented the party organization of Georgia at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and took part in the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet as deputies from the Georgian SSR--are living witnesses of the enthusiasm and the unanimity, under the aegis of monolithic solidarity around the party and the government, with which the plenum of the Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet received the election of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to be chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This is only natural--after all, the people and the party always greet with approval and enthusiasm the realization of the logical patterns of scientific communism.

The republic's working people, like all Soviet people, warmly approve the election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the outstanding political and state figure of our time, to the post of head of the Soviet state, and they wish him long and fruitful activity on behalf of our people, our party, our homeland, and the cause of communism.

The session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is one of the main component parts of a whole complex of important measures being implemented in our republic in accordance with the decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and the Sixth Plenum of the CC CP Georgia. It takes place during the remarkable days of nationwide preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a period of nationwide discussion of the draft of the fourth USSR Constitution, in circumstances of a tireless struggle to implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and fulfill the national economy plans of the second year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

A few days ago marked one year since the adoption of the June 1976 decree of the CC CPSU concerning the work of Georgia's party organization. This decree constitutes an inseparable organic part of the complex of measures worked out in recent times by the CC CPSU with regard to the Georgian SSR and its party organization.

The three documents adopted by the CC CPSU, as has been noted repeatedly, have created a whole stage in the life of the republic's party organization and workers.

General considerations on how we evaluate the work on implementing the decree concerning Georgia's party organizations for the year are spelled out by the CC CP Georgia in an editorial published a few days ago in the press. Deputies here are familiar with this material; for this reason, there is no necessity to repeat the statements formulated in it. This is especially true in view of the fact that the bureau of the CC CP Georgia believes that it is essential to more deeply and in greater detail analyze the course of implementation of this decree; to acquaint each primary organization, each soviet body with the findings and conclusions of the analysis.

When delaing with totaling up the results of our work on a republic-wide scale, it is essential to proceed on the basis that truly titanic efforts have been performed. The decree concerning the Georgian party organization has rallied and cemented all honorable workers in the struggle to achieve high and bright goals, to win for our republic a good name and high prestige through great and glorious deeds, to increase its contribution to the matter of strengthening the power of our great homeland. Important steps have been undertaken and gratifying shifts have taken place in all spheres of of the economy and political, social, and cultural life. The moral-psychological atmosphere is being cleaned up more and more intensively; on its basis, our social organism is also becoming healthier and more perfect. Conscientious labor and principles of honor and justice have finally be restored to their rightful place. Public opinion, the people's opinion, has become a mighty force which we can count on, on which we rely. Precise perspectives have been mapped out; the people clearly understand that the road to a great future crosses obstacles which we must overcome at the cost of selfless labor, proceeding along the path of honor and justice, friendship, and fraternity.

Thinner and thinner are the ranks of those citizens who, evaluating the processes taking place in the republic as some kind of temporary experiment, adopted the position of bystanders. Many contradictions have already been overcome, many "Doubting Thomases" have joined the ranks of active warriors. And we cannot fail to comment on the process that thousands and tens of thousands of people, under the influence of the current atmosphere, have rejected the erroneous, money-grubbing way of life; they have firmly and finally joined the ranks of conscientious workers. In taking this step, these people themselves have achieved spiritual calm and faith in the future and have persuaded their friends to believe in it. This phenomenon serves as a brilliant testimony to our socialist humanitarianism, the magnanimity of our system. We can hardly fail to be proud of the enormous efforts and substantial successes achieved by us in the matter of educating the workers in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism, of the successes that were so highly praised at the 25th CPSU Congress.

In the life of party, soviet, economic, and social organizations of the republic, increased application is being made of scientific principles of work; democratic centralism is being strengthened; the people's competence and efficiency are growing. The atmosphere of mutually-imposed high standards, personal responsibility, and party criticism and self criticism is

being coupled with principles of mutual respect, friendly mutual aid, and mutual understanding.

At the same time, however, the CC CP Georgia has believed and continues to believe that complacency and satisfaction with what has been achieved, ostentatious sensation, the practice of covering up the state of affairs, mutual eulogy and flattery, superficiality, and an uncritical attitude toward life have been, are, and will be for us Enemy No 1.

Our party logic runs as follows: the greater our successes the more actively we must develop political vigilance, criticism, and self-criticism, and self control, in order not to allow the bacillus of complacency to invade us. The stronger the foundation on which we stand, the more boldly can we carry our attack on shortcomings and defects. The realization that much has been done must not be allowed to conceal from us behind a curtain of fog that which remains to be done. On the contrary--it is essential to reveal shortcomings with even greater thoroughness, to map out the ways and means of eliminating them. We must not for one minute forget that in terms of a large number of crucial economic indicators the republic still lags behind, that the task of overcoming this lag goes beyond even the capabilities of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. Overcoming the lag and bringing the republic up to advanced positions--these constitute some of the most vital and crucial tasks of party members and the working people of the present generation. We have struck negative phenomena a great blow; we have undermined their foundations in essential spheres; however, we must not forget for an instant that by no means have all disorders been cured. The task of overcoming private-ownership, money-grubbing, anti-socialist tendencies continues to be one of the most urgent ones for all our people.

We cannot tolerate the fact that serious obstacles are posed before us by bureaucratism, lying, hypocrisy, conservatism, and elements of provincialism; that the level of political training and business qualifications of many managers is still too low. We must not fail to deal seriously with isolated instances of nationalistic narrowness, narrowmindedness, nationalistic attacks, based on nationalistic, chauvinistic adventurism and careerism.

Today we could speak of many more unresolved problems. Just as tomorrow, having resolved today's most urgent, acute problems, we will place on the agenda other problems that are no less urgent and complex. Life goes forward. Much that we are not capable of encompassing in our imagination today will tomorrow become the urgent task of all society.

In my opinion, at today's session the main thing is not to list that which has been done or not been done. While summarizing the results of the work done in the year since the adoption of the decree of the CC CPSU concerning Georgia's party organization, we must focus substantial attention on determining the main tendencies, and these tendencies, which have been partially discussed already, I believe, are not open to doubt. That is in the first place. In the second place: at the present stage of our work

and struggle it is essential also to precisely define the principles of attitudes toward what has been achieved, toward the accumulated experience and vitally important problems. I believe that it is essential to categorically and substantially change our attitude toward the positive, what has been achieved. The basis on which tomorrow's successes will be built has been achieved. This is no simple matter. To elucidate positive experience, its whole mechanism--this entails the study of man, the human collective; this entails grasping the essence of the most complex psychological, professional, scientific, and technical shifts and turning points that have taken place in the multifaceted activities of society. If we do not master the art of elucidating positive phenomena, evaluating them properly, and scientifically publicizing that which has been achieved, we will be cutting off the limb on which we are sitting, and the foundation on which our road to the future runs will not be stable.

People need faith. Faith not only in the victory of our common cause but also a specific faith, rising out of the day-by-day realization of the significance of every step forward we make.

This factor--the factor of attitude toward the positive, what has been achieved--I emphasize not at random. The fact is that in various segments of our society there are comrades who by no means manifest a proper, objective, genuinely scientific attitude toward selfless workers and the fruits of their labor. There are also those who are constantly whining, muttering, always dissatisfied with something. We also find those in whom the expression of the faith changes, they become tongue-tied, when they are called upon to speak or write about the positive.

Always when it comes to determining the strategy and tactics of our efforts, for Georgia's Communist Party and for all our party the main advisor and instructor is the founder and organizer of our party--V. I. Lenin. It is Lenin's teachings on the positive experience that constitute one of the most important cornerstones of the building of socialism. It was Lenin who called for gathering, as the saying goes, by grams and particles everything which makes up the creative genius of the masses in the process of the building of socialism, and for making this accessible to the whole nation.

A remarkable example of a genuinely Leninist attitude toward the positive, to what has been achieved, to firm foundations of the future was given by the CPSU in its decree concerning Georgia's party organization. It was the concerned attitude toward positive advances, toward the groundwork, faith in the great potential possibilities of an honorable and laboring Georgia which gave rise to the adoption of this important document, which is of vital significance to us, and for whose implementation our people are now so selflessly laboring.

At the same time, we would be one-sided--that is, standing on unscientific soil in determining the principles of attitudes toward processes taking place in our social life--if we were to alter our chosen course of action against backwardness and negative phenomena and toward the only true path

of uncompromising struggle against all deviations from the rules governing the socialist community.

The CC CP Georgia highly appreciates all who in writing or orally, impelled by service, social or civic duty, disclose shortcomings, unmask defects, fearlessly struggle for the truth, and sincerely help the party to peer into all aspects of life in order that our state mechanism can function smoothly, so that not even one little bolt gets loose in this mechanism. We warmly welcome all who do so sincerely, with a sense of dedication to the common cause, with sympathy and affection for man, against egotism, individualism, niggling, slander, and envy.

Briefly, we must perceive as one of the most vital tasks of today that of properly evaluating the positive, that which has been achieved, dialectical unity with the principles of tireless struggle against shortcomings and defects. In discussing the anniversary of the decree of the CC CPSU concerning Georgia, in dwelling on the principles that are most vital for our party, social, and economic life, in focusing deputies' attention on these problems at the session which is to discuss the draft of the new USSR Constitution, the CC CP Georgia emphasizes the creative, businesslike character of the study of the draft constitution and the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU.

The draft constitution is the fruit of the creative genius of the Soviet people and Lenin's party, and discussion of it must take place in a creative, businesslike atmosphere, vitally linked to the resolution of problems that arise in life.

In the advances and turning points that have occurred in the republic in recent years, an enormous role has been played by the soviets, whose activities have been performed under conditions of everyday guidance and help on the part of party organizations.

In his program-oriented speech at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 17 June, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev outlined the great tasks facing the soviets.

His speech constitutes an important document, which maps out a specific program of action for the soviets. We must be guided by the postulates presented in this speech not only during the period of nationwide discussion of the draft constitution but also in the future.

As has already been mentioned, Marxism-Leninism teaches us that all events in the development of society are in a cause-and-effect relationship with one another. Every event derives from a whole complex of objective and subjective factors.

What objective necessity demands the adoption of a new constitution? Primarily, the transition of victorious socialism to a new stage, the stage of developed socialism.

The term "developed socialism," one of the terms of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, belongs to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. He introduced this term in March 1918. The conclusion that our country has built a developed socialism was drawn by CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in 1967 in his report "Fifty Years of Great Victories of Socialism." And in his speech dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev developed even further, imparted an even more contemporary shape to the postulate concerning the building of developed socialism in our country.

The building of developed socialism constitutes an enormous victory for our party and our people, our state, a victory of world-historic importance, and its theoretical interpretation at the present stage constitutes an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist science, one which belongs to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

If we view this event from a historical point of view, it should be stated that the transition of socialism from the stage of complete and final victory to the next stage--the stage of developed socialism--was a great historical process, in whose development an enormous contribution was made by the October 1964 Plenum of the CC CPSU, subsequent plenums, and the 23rd, 24th and 25th party congresses.

In speaking of the objective principles of adopting a new constitution, it should be stated that the dialectical development of all basic components of our society has had great importance for the transition of socialism to a new, qualitative stage, the stage of developed socialism. This development has resulted in the transition of our party into a party of the whole people, the reshaping of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people, and so on.

The soviets have also undergone dialectical development.

The fact that we are now in a new stage of development of the soviets is embodied in the draft constitution through the institution of a new term--People's Soviets. This is not just the replacement of one name with another. Our soviets, which are the brilliant creation of the people, which were discovered and built up by the people themselves and by Lenin, the leader of the revolution, as a new form of administration--these soviets have been successfully developing since 1905, since the first Russian Revolution. At different stages they have had different names. In accordance with the constitution now in effect they are called Soviets of Workers Deputies; after the adoption of the new constitution, they will be called Peoples Soviets. The term Peoples Soviets is consistent with the transformation that has taken place in the development of our socialist state.



At the plenum of the CC CP Georgia we have already mentioned, and we now mention once more, the tasks confronting us, in particular the soviets, in the field of further constitutional improvement of the political system of our state in connection with discussion of the draft of the new constitution.

In discussing the political system of the soviet state it is essential to keep in mind above all the following basic stipulation of the draft constitution:

"The guiding and directing force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system and all state and social organizations is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU functions for the people and serves the people."

This postulate is all-encompassing, and it represents the cornerstone of our political system. It is the fundamental principle.

The plenum of the CC CP Georgia has mapped out for the party organizations the tasks which confront them in the sphere of strengthening party supervision over the soviets in general and, in particular, during the period of discussion of the draft constitution. These tasks are clear and specific. Integrated plans of organizational-party and ideological work during the period of discussing the draft have been drawn up and approved.

All rural, settlement, rayon, city, and oblast soviets the supreme soviets of the autonomous republics, the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, executive committees and their presidiums, all permanent commissions, and all deputies together with party, trade union, Komsomol, and other organizations, must take active part in the struggle to implement the specific program of actions mapped out by the CC CP Georgia. It is essential to reach all members of society without exception--to reach all who live, work, study, and struggle side by side with us in our society.

It is essential that everyone understand what the adoption of the new constitution means in the light of Soviet man, what the constitution gives to Soviet man and what it requires from him.

All soviets must have the kind of atmosphere in which every declaration, remark, request, and proposal from citizens and voters receive immediate study and are responded to properly.

It is essential to create for every citizen optimum conditions for the free expression of opinion concerning the stipulations of the draft constitution.

This is of great political importance. Every Soviet citizen must feel that the new Soviet Constitution is being developed with his participation. This is the task, and a crucial role in its resolution belongs to the soviets. To be enlisted in this matter are all ministries and state committees, all departments, all enterprises, the public education system, the Academy of Sciences and all scientific centers, administrative bodies, jurists, philosophers, economists, sociologists, specialists in other professions, students, graduate students, and pupils.

Our constitution, which represents an embodiment of the highest principles of democratism, promulgates a stipulation of historic importance: "The basic direction of development of the political system of Soviet society is the further elaboration of socialist democracy."

The recent elections to local soviets constituted a triumph of our democracy.

The fact that the voters went unanimously to the polling places, their high political commitment, and the results of the elections graphically testify to the fact that the republic's working people warmly approve the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet government and the draft of the new constitution. This is also demonstrated by the heartfelt words of enthusiasm and approval written by the voters on more than 16,000 ballots.

A characteristic feature of the period since the publishing of the draft constitution comprises the vigorous, labor, and political mood of the working people of the republic, their high discipline and conscientiousness, their fervent desire to celebrate the current, jubilee year, the year of discussion and adoption of the new Soviet Constitution, through success in labor, through increased effectiveness and improved work quality in all spheres of social and productive life.

Party and soviet bodies, trade unions, Komsomol and other social organizations of the republic, the republic and local press, television and radio are all linking their efforts in the nationwide discussion of the draft of the Fundamental Law of our state closely to the specific tasks confronting the labor collectives, the tasks of successfully fulfilling plans and obligations of the Tenth Five-Year Plan. One result of this enormous organizational and political work has been the fact that many labor collectives and leaders in industrial and farm production have honorably kept their word--they completed the half-year plan by Election Day. Many winners in socialist competition are participants in today's session--as deputies and as guests.

It is our duty to strengthen the Soviets of Workers Deputies even more--since they are the highest bodies of authority locally; after the adoption of the new constitution they will be given a new status and name--Peoples Soviets.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium remarked that the draft constitution lists about 10 laws which must be passed in the near future.

One of them is the election law.

The draft of the new constitution accords significant importance to expanding the right to nominate candidates to be deputies.

We must focus special attention as well on the fact that the free and thorough discussion of the political, business, and personal qualities of the deputy candidates is guaranteed, also the right to criticize them and the right to

conduct agitation at meetings, in the press, and by television and radio. The selection of candidates to be deputies, which will be participated in by the community at large, will be a most important factor in the whole election campaign.

Participants in this session recall that, in accordance with deputies' requests, we have listened with great interest to reports from the republic's government, ministers, and chairmen of state committees, to explanations by individual officials on particular questions of public significance. It may be that the indifference to this experience is also due to the fact that frequently in the preparation of similar measures, along with the initiative of the deputies there is a clear sense of preliminary organization. But what great and good tradition has been confirmed without organization?

Utilizing my right as a deputy, conferred by the constitution, I am asking the appropriate divisions of the party's Central Committee and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the leadership of the republic's Supreme Soviet, why you have filed away that which should have been encouraged in every way, supported, and developed? I am well aware of the sincere endeavors of the leadership of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to strengthen and confirm democratic forms of work, and there is no doubt that the above-mentioned and other useful traditions will be appropriately supported on all levels. So that the constitution not only proclaims the rights of deputies but also guarantees that the deputy may exercise these broad rights of his.

The draft constitution attaches enormous significance to the Soviets of Peoples Deputies and the procedure of electing them.

We must enhance the role and significance of the executive and authorizing bodies of Peoples Soviets, also other permanent commission bodies responsible to them.

Special attention must be focused on the organs of people's control of the soviets of deputies, which must couple their own work with the social control exercised by working people in the enterprises, on the kolkhozes, the institutions, and the organizations, especially in the field of fulfilling state plans and targets, the struggle against violations of state discipline, manifestations of provincialism, a narrowly-departmental approach to one's job, mismanagement and waste, foot-dragging and waste; in the matter of improving the work of the state apparatus.

The task is to create an atmosphere of collective, free, businesslike discussion and decision-making in all Soviets of Peoples Deputies, an atmosphere of openness.

The task of enhancing the role of the soviets in all spheres of the building of communism on the basis of improving and perfecting party management, comprehensive democratization of their activities--such a task is an important

logical development in the political organization of Soviet society. Let us remark here, moreover, that enhancing the role of our representative bodies in the administration of political and economic development is at the same time a process of their further democratization. These are two aspects of a phenomenon which is unitary in content, aspects which dialectically determine and complement one another. This logical development is also manifested in the reality of our republic, where the task of enhancing the role of the local soviets and further democratizing them is gradually taking on an all-encompassing and systematic character.

Substantial shifts in the activities of the local soviets of the republic have been mapped out as a result of the work done in implementing the familiar decree of the CC CPSU concerning the organizational and political efforts of the Tbilisi city party committee, especially since the 25th Georgian CP Congress.

Thanks to the support and guidance of party organizations, the prestige of the soviets is growing. They are increasingly more involved in problems of economic and cultural development; of the future development of the villages, rayons, and cities, in improving public trade and consumer services; in their everyday activities they are increasingly reliant on the community at large.

In recent times, many valuable and important matters have been accomplished in our republic, initiated by local soviets, deputies, permanent commissions, activists and ordinary working people. Schools, hospitals, and stores have been built; roads have been built and repaired; population centers have been beautified, the work of industrial and trade enterprises and public consumer service enterprises has been improved: cities, villages, and settlements are making efforts to achieve exemplary social order and a high level of culture.

The CC CP Georgia is focusing continuous attention on comprehensively improving the work of the soviets in the spirit of the requirements stemming from the decisions of the 25th party congress, from the decree of the CC CPSU concerning the Georgian party organization.

We cannot deny that in the activity of many local soviets we have not yet fully rooted out elements of pure formalism and apathy and red tape; there is no sense of creative goal-directedness, existing capabilities are not being fully utilized. These shortcomings have resulted, primarily, from the fact that some soviets and their executive committees are not making adequate use of the extensive rights given to them by law; they are not completing their assigned obligations, they have not precisely determined their place in resolving economic tasks and, in essence, they are continuing to adhere to a policy of noninterference in vitally important matters.

Some executive committees of rural, settlement, rayon and city Soviets of Workers Deputies are not focusing adequate attention on problems of communal, trade, consumer, and medical services to the public; they are not carrying out the necessary steps involved in beautification of population centers

and improving their sanitation systems, strengthening the material base of cultural-educational institutions, educational authorities, and physical culture-sports organizations.

Evidence of shortcomings in organizational activity is seen in the fact that decrees adopted by the executive committees of some rural, settlement, rayon, and city soviets are superficial in character; they do not reflect the status of the economy and culture in particular spheres; instead of specific tasks they contain mere general comments such as "strengthen," "improve," "undertake additional measures," and so on. Naturally, control over the implementation of such decrees is also purely formalistic; so we can hardly even speak of increasing the efficiency coefficient of their work.

Local Soviets of Workers Deputies must make fuller use of the rights given to them by law in the field of improving the work of the public education system, health care, and consumer services, especially in the villages; they must step up efforts to strengthen social order, systematically check on the legality of decisions adopted by administrative bodies located within their jurisdiction, profoundly analyze reasons for the committing of crime, and declare relentless war against embezzlement of people's property, bribe-taking, speculation, hooliganism, and other anti-social phenomena.

The task is to comprehensively enhance the role of the deputies in strengthening socialist discipline, to substantially improve the work of the commissions of local soviets responsible for maintaining public order, also administrative bodies.

Under present conditions, special importance attaches as well to a scientific approach to supervision of the soviets and the organization of their activities. Today we can no longer be satisfied with affairs conducted in the hope of skills to be acquired some day, by and by. What we need is the systematic analysis of accumulated experience, the focusing of attention on specific conditions and capabilities, the ability to closely intercoordinate short-term and long-term plans, statewide and local interests, the ability to draw up scientifically substantiated social-economic forecasts.

All of this, naturally, cannot be accomplished overnight. It is essential to systematically, steadily master the art of scientific administration. From this derives the necessity of organizing the training of soviet cadres and deputies, so as to insure the profound assimilation of a Leninist, scientific work style.

Attention must also be focused on further disseminating the initiative of the population and Soviets of Workers Deputies of the cities of Tbilisi, Batumi, Kutaisi, and Rustavi, which on the basis of existing housing administrations and certain other subdivisions have set up district soviets--bodies which in terms of their election, functions, powers, and exercise of the principles of social self government are similar to local bodies of authority and have already been adapted to the conditions of these cities.

Expansion of the participation of working people in administrating local operations does not afford any special difficulties. Playing an important role here is the unity and solidarity of the labor collectives, the great influence of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations on the productive and social life of members of the collective.

It is much more difficult to resolve such problems as involving the masses in administration in the place of residence. We are hindered in this by a certain amount of dispersion of the people, the multiplicity of urgent tasks and their varied nature, imperfections in the organizational structure and existing forms of operation among the population.

For almost three years now the soviets of the above-mentioned districts have been successfully functioning; they are having a positive influence on the resolution of a broad range of problems relating to the everyday life of Soviet people.

It would seem that these first fruits constitute a brilliant manifestation of the democratization of the operational system among the urban population and testify to tendencies of development in socialist social self-government.

It is obviously high time to generalize the experience of the participation of the broad masses in administration in the place of residence, experience accumulated in various places of our republic, and incorporate this experience in specific organizational forms.

We believe that the CC CP Georgia, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the republic's Council of Ministers must show a more lively interest in this and other forms of functioning among the population in the place of residence.

The draft constitution attaches great significance to the constitutional regulation of the work of the higher bodies of state authority and administration. We are speaking here of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers. The draft of the new constitution stipulates that the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the union republic is a member of the union government. The Chairman of the Presidium of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet is a Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and so on. A number of other measures to be carried out along these lines testifies to the respect of the sovereign rights of the union republics.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized that right now some important legislative acts are being worked out: regulation of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers.

This will represent a great step forward along the path of further democratic development of our society.

We must immediately undertake preparations to adopt corresponding regulation for the republic's Supreme Soviet and a Law on the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers.

These documents should enhance the role of the republic's Supreme Soviet, its presidium, and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers in all aspects of the building of communism.

As the deputies know, the 25th Georgian CP Congress criticized the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet and the executive committees of local Soviets of Workers Deputies for serious shortcomings in their work, for failure to completely utilize the abundant possibilities of our social-economic development.

Fairness and objectivity demand that we state that the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet and its presidium and local soviets and their executive committees have drawn serious conclusions from the criticism; they have substantially increased the fighting efficiency of these representative bodies. But much still remains to be done, and we have no grounds for complacency.

Now as never before, enormous responsibility lies on the soviets, the government, the ministries and departments, and the managers of state and economic bodies for the performance of their constitutional duties. As L. I. Brezhnev has remarked, at the present stage in the work of the soviets efforts to improve production effectiveness must be closely linked to the implementation of the party's broad social program, to the development of all aspects of our socialist democracy, to the resolution of the tasks of the building of communism.

It is especially essential to enhance the role of the Supreme Soviet in developing the republic's national economy, in further perfecting social and cultural development and state plans, also the State Budget, in the creation of bodies subordinate to the Supreme Soviet and the supervision of their efforts.

It is essential to enhance even more the role played by the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet in the making of laws, in further perfecting legislation.

We will have to draw up a draft of a new constitution for the republic. It is essential to take steps now to resolve this problem on the proper level.

The draft of a new Georgian SSR Constitution must correspond to the rising economic, intellectual and cultural potential of our people, to the present level of development of our republic.

The draft of the USSR Constitution notes that the Supreme Soviet of a union republic forms the republic's government--the republic's Council of Ministers, the higher executive and directive organs of state authority in the republic.

Great, complex, and multi-faceted tasks have been assigned to our republic's Council of Ministers.

Much has been done since the 25th Georgian CP Congress, at which critical remarks were expressed concerning the work of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers. This is the opinion of all our active membership, and it leaves no doubt that much more remains to be done.

We must even further enhance the role of the republic's government, the effectiveness and influence of governmental decrees and orders. All efforts must be directed toward executing them so that not one decree or order, not one decision remains unfulfilled. The republic's Council of Ministers is obligated to continue to perfect the efforts of the union-republic and republic ministries and state committees.

The republic's Council of Ministers is confronted with a major task--that of stepping up aid to the councils of ministers of the autonomous republics, the executive committee of the oblast soviet, and local soviets. The activities of the republic's executive bodies must incorporate even more firmly the practice of thorough and comprehensive study of economic and social-cultural problems, collective discussion, and scientific alternatives for resolving complex problems. We must always keep firmly in mind that there is only one absolutely correct and optimal solution, whereas there are thousands of incorrect ones. Every effort must be made to see to it that the decisions we make do not bear the stamp of haste and superficiality.

All of this is very important, because, as was mentioned earlier, executive authority in the Center and locally resolves very complex problems of planning, economic and social development, supply, and distribution of material and monetary resources. All of this is interwoven with the day-to-day interests of the people and anything which affects the people requires that we exercise the utmost caution, high responsibility and great statesmanship.

The draft constitution shapes the structure of the higher bodies of state authority and administration of the autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts.

We must focus special attention on the Yugo-Osetinskaya Oblast soviet and its executive committee, on the tasks of perfecting their work.

Special attention must be focused on seeing to it that local soviets supervise compliance with the laws in the case of enterprises, institutions, and organizations within their jurisdiction; they must supervise and coordinate their activities in the field of land use, protection of the environment and cultural monuments, construction, the production of consumer goods, and the provision of social-cultural, consumer, and other services to the public.

These problems are not always resolved on a level consistent with current standards. You are well aware of the great tasks mapped along these lines by the 25th CPSU Congress and the 25th Georgian CP Congress.



The soviets are armed with a clear program. All that is required is organizational and ideological efforts to see to it that all these directives, decrees, and orders become actually implemented, become a practical reality.

We must indeed strive to see to it that implementation of the decrees of local soviets become obligatory for all enterprises, institutions, and organizations within the jurisdiction of the soviet, also for all officials and citizens. We must put an end to improper, unconstitutional, and unlawful behavior on the part of some organizations, enterprises, and institutions with regard to the decisions of local soviets.

The definition of the role of the party and the soviets in the draft constitution is based on the unshakeable cornerstone of Marxism-Leninism, on the abundant practical experience of the building of communism in our country.

We must explain to the working people the lofty thinking embodied in the following stipulation of the constitution: "All power in the Soviet Union belongs to the people."

The fact that state bodies are subordinated to the soviets is of great importance. We must do everything necessary to see to it that the soviets step up their supervision and influence on state organs. Experience shows that in this regard all is not well with us.

Many ministries and state committees, departments, and economic and cultural institutions are not working in a proper way, and the soviets frequently adopt a passive position--a position of noninterference. The bureau of the CC CP Georgia has repeatedly examined such issues and taken steps.

Sometimes in local or republic organs there are instances of misunderstanding, repeated confusion of functions, even unprincipled disputes, tendencies to function in the role of an individual issuer of commands, someone who knows it all, can do it all, and is capable of all.

On this matter the following must be stated:

The postulate concerning the party's role of leadership and guidance in the life of the soviets, the state, and the whole society, is not just a theoretical postulate but rather a guide to action.

It is necessary to state this because some comrades manifest a full understanding of this constitutional and program-based requirement only when they are at the speaker's stand giving reports or when they are writing newspaper articles. But when it comes to the actual work, practical management, and economic administration, they choose to ignore the requirements of this principle. Unfortunately, such things do occur.

Some party committees are betraying Leninist principles of administration through petty trusteeship; they are not always willing to respect the independence of the soviets in the sphere of exercising their functions as

conferred on them by the constitution; in many cases and in many places they fail to create conditions for combating formalism, bureaucratism, and lack of initiative in the work of the soviets, for establishing a genuinely creative spirit in soviet development.

The leading and organizing role of party organizations must be manifested primarily in insuring a high level of performance on the part of the soviets, from the republic's Supreme Soviet down to the settlement and rural soviets, and their executive committees.

The soviets must focus special attention on that stipulation of the draft constitution which specifies that all organs of soviet authority are to act on the basis of socialist legality; they must insure compliance with legal procedures and the best interests of society and the rights of citizens. The soviets are obliged to be more actively concerned about problems of improving procurator supervision, the administration of justice, and the performance of arbitration.

The soviets must coordinate their efforts with those of the trade unions, the Komsomol, and other mass social organizations; they must take active part in their work, help them to exercise the rights conferred on them by the constitution.

Running like a red thread throughout the draft constitution are ideas and statements concerning the brotherhood and equal rights of people, socialist internationalism, rapprochement among all nations and nationalities, and, on this basis, their further development, guarantees of the flourishing of the material and spiritual culture of every people.

The dreams of all generations of progressively-thinking mankind concerning the rights and duties of man, concerning the all-round flourishing of his talents and capabilities, are formulated in the draft constitution as an implemented reality and as a law, as a fundamental gain of society under developed socialism and a guarantee of this society's progress along the path toward communism.

The right to work, study, health care, rest, and pension security and the right to housing, the right to creativity, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and other constitutional rights and freedoms are combined in a dialectical unity with the duties of Soviet citizens, their responsibility to society, the state, the collective, and the family. All of these gains in our society are such as are unprecedented in the history of the world.

Not only are we guaranteed the exercise of constitutional rights, but the party, the state, and all society are intimately interested in the citizens' exercise of these conferred rights, because the exercise of these rights determines the well being of society itself. For example, it is wrong to separate the right to work from the duty to work, for it is the selfless labor of members of society that serves as the basis for the genuine well

being of society. It is wrong to separate the right to an education from the duty to study, because it is the scientists, highly qualified and educated citizens that are capable of advancing scientific-technical progress. All the other rights and duties also relate to one another in this way.

The soviets must insist on complying with all constitutional stipulations both with regard to protecting rights and with regard to the citizens' performance of their duties.

We must not forget for one minute that the realization of all high constitutional guarantees takes place in the plants and the mills, on the kolkhozes, in the housing administrations and on the construction projects, in the schools and hospitals, in the children's homes and vocational-technical schools, in colleges, in the sports arenas and sanatoria, in the commissions responsible for the distribution of housing and in the people's courts, in the notary offices and in the Wedding Palaces, in the stores and in the communal service enterprises, in the artists' unions and trade union organizations, in medical facilities and the editorial offices of newspapers and journals, and in the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations. In short, the system of citizens' rights and duties, as a practical matter comprises all our life with all its many facets and complexities, resolved and unresolved problems, concerns of the present day and tomorrow's prospects.

All of this complex of problems comes together in the soviets. With the help of the party, our task is to elevate the performance level of the soviets to match these tasks. People of all nations and nationalities, all specialties, regardless of their social status and their past or present deeds--all citizens should perceive the soviets to be their defender and guardian; they must be convinced that the great nationwide tasks are to be resolved there, that not one member of society, his lawful individual interests and aspirations, will be ignored there.

It is the most sacred duty of the Soviets of Deputies, of every soviet worker, to be constantly concerned for the people, for man, to be constantly concerned not in words but in deeds. It is essential to always keep in mind the mandate given to them by the voters; the deputies, as the saying goes, must have a concern for the people day and night, must consider the people.

Those who are known as the people's elected officers cannot for one minute forget the simple truth that man's life path is not always strewn with roses. In our nationwide, grandiose principles of movement forward there are also difficulties and complexities with housing, instances of injustice, bureaucratism. All of us, comrades, must work so that man never remains alone, is never separated from society, the collective; he must sense their support throughout his life; he must know that he is essential to the state, the people, society. We must struggle against and overcome the lapses of the past, relics of the bourgeois world, where a way of life prevails in which everyone is for himself alone. Our requirements and our principles

are well known. They are the principles of humanitarianism in mankind's history--one for all and all for one!

Unfortunately, there are still some workers among us who forget this principle, who forget their duties as deputies and citizens.

Workers of this type are astonishingly sensitive when it comes to their own personal feelings, their families, and their personal interests, but they are just as astonishingly indifferent and apathetic when such concerns disturb and agitate others.

Life is great teacher. No one should forget the lessons of the past. How much warmth and light we have received--we who are called the elected officers and servants of the people--from concerned people; how many times we have felt that their severe and just guidance was essential.

The source of the country's might and health is the fact that its sons and daughters have repaid society two fold, three fold, and ten fold for what they have been given by the people throughout their lives.

In speaking about the development and deepening of democracy, we have in mind more than the process of perfecting the election system and the work of state and social organizations.

Genuine observance of democracy must be expressed in the day-to-day actions of the people themselves.

The democratic and humanitarian ideas of the draft constitution, above all, must be crystallized in the way of life and labor of the people, encompassed by the people's trust.

Such is our task today.

Of outstanding importance are the stipulations drawn up in the draft constitution designed to perfect the economic system of our society. During the period of discussion of the draft constitution and afterwards, our task is to take special concern for strengthening the foundations of the Soviet Union's economic system--socialist ownership of the means of production.

The draft constitution stipulates that the state retains socialist ownership and creates conditions for increasing it. And we are the state. We are obliged to safeguard socialist property and we must create conditions for increasing it.

The draft constitution forbids the use of socialist property for purposes of individual gain.

We must think deeply about this stipulation, especially on the background of those negative phenomena that took place in our republic not so long ago.

It would be wrong to think that all of these phenomena, all these negative tendencies have been liquidated. The draft constitution states that Soviet citizens may individually own the earnings of their labor and their savings, a house and a private plot, and items of personal and household use. The citizen's right to personal property, like the right to inherit it, is protected by law. We must strictly comply with this right of Soviet citizens.

The draft constitution states that citizens have the right to own, for their personal needs, land plots issued to them by the state or by the kolkhozes in the established procedure, to conduct private farming, orchard raising, and gardening, also for individual construction.

At the same time, the draft constitution requires that property owned by citizens for their personal use cannot be used as a source for obtaining unearned income or to the detriment of society. From this, multi-faceted and serious conclusions must be drawn.

The soviets must focus more attention on the sphere of production, on problems of adequate material stockpiling, on quality, on effectiveness, on accelerating material-technical progress and adopting its achievements in the national economy, in order to boost labor productivity.

Against the background of discussion of the draft constitution, it is essential to improve--and here the soviets must play a vital role--the management of the economy, taking account of sector and territorial principles, in such a fashion that centralized administration is coupled with the economic independence and initiative of enterprises, associations, and other organizations. At the same time, special significance must attach to the use of such economic factors as cost accounting, profit, prime cost, and price.

Such concerns must manifest the democratic nature of our economy and the viability of the principles of democratic administration of it.

Also of great importance is the draft constitution's stipulation concerning the participation of labor collectives and social organizations in the administration of enterprises and associations, in the organization of labor and living conditions, in resolving problems of the use of resources designated to develop production, also for their social-cultural needs and material incentives. Every city, rayon, rural, and settlement soviet must become a competent organ of economic administration.

During the period of discussion of the draft constitution we must focus special attention on the problems mapped out in the draft constitution in the field of economics, social development, and culture.

We must strive for a situation in which the social homogeneity of Soviet society becomes stronger, substantial differences between the city and the country, between intellectual and physical labor, are eliminated.

It is the primary duty of the soviets to concern themselves with improving working conditions, with gradually eliminating low-efficiency manual labor from the sphere of production on the basis of complex mechanization and automation.

The soviets must do everything possible to raise the level of wages, the real income of the working people. It is essential that the soviets focus more attention on the proper use and just distribution of social consumption funds and, what is most important, on increasing these funds.

Special measures are required on the part of the soviets by that chapter in the draft constitution which formulates provisions concerning the defense of the socialist homeland; it is important to strengthen ties between the army and the population; it is essential to work much more intensively with young people undergoing pre-conscription military training, with recruits, and with young people returning from the army.

The draft constitution especially singles out articles and stipulations reflecting the constitutional status of the union socialist republics. You are well acquainted with these principles.

From this high tribune of our session I should like to address myself to the CC CPSU and its Politburo, to Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, with words of great gratitude for the great trust and consideration, for the great rights which, according to the draft of the new constitution, are enjoyed by the union soviet socialist republic, the autonomous republic, and the autonomous oblast.

Detailed discussion about these issues was held at the Sixth Plenum of the CC CP Georgia, and there is no necessity of repeating it here.

The soviets of the Georgian SSR and the soviets of Abkhazia, Adzharia, and South Ossetia that form part of it must do everything necessary to make effective, systematic, purposeful and goal-directed use of their high constitutional trust, their high constitutional powers in the magnificent cause of the struggle for the triumph of communism.

You are aware, comrades, that the May Plenum of the CC CPSU discussed not only problems having to do with the draft of the new constitution but also the draft of the new USSR State Hymn.

At present, a new addition of the text and music of the USSR State Hymn has been approved.

We will have to approve a new text of the Georgian SSR State Hymn. Work along these lines is already underway. It is essential to be concerned with translating the new text of the USSR State Hymn into Georgian.

Comrade deputies!

It is now almost one month since the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the national intelligentsia of the republic began to become profoundly acquainted with the draft of the new USSR Constitution.

Publication of the draft constitution, the decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, and the statements and conclusions contained in the report of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the plenum, also the decisions of the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, have evoked enormous satisfaction and brought on a new labor and political upsurge among the republic's working people.

Extensive discussion of the draft is underway throughout our republic. At plenums of party committees, meetings of active party membership, and in the primary party organizations, in the first sessions of local soviets and meetings of working people, speakers and participants have unanimously supported the wise domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet government; they have expressed their boundless gratitude to the Leninist CC CPSU, its Politburo, and CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev for their concern for steadily improving the well being of the people, for strengthening peace and security on earth.

Allow me, dear comrades, to express profound confidence that the republic's soviets, under the guidance of the party organizations, will do everything necessary to see to it that discussion of the draft USSR Constitution is conducted throughout the republic on a lofty ideological-political and organizational level, in an atmosphere of selfless efforts to implement the decisions of the 25th Georgian CP Congress, with the goal of overcoming existing defects and negative phenomena in our work.

The light of Lenin's ideas lights our path to the future. In the shining of this unquenchable revolutionary light, the draft of the new constitution, created by the party and the people, by Lenin's thinking and his ideas, calls upon us to scale new heights.

The draft constitution reflects the tireless intellectual energy of the Communist Party--the wisdom, honor, and conscience of the era--and the Soviet people--a new historic community of people, revolutionary in terms of its scope and power to transform reality. Crystallized in it is the high purity of the moral ideals of the party and the people, genuinely embodied in it is the age-old dream of the proletariat, the oppressed classes and segments of all eras, the working people, the best sons of mankind--a dream of freedom, peace, democracy, eternal celebration of goodness, a wonderful present and an even more wonderful future.

Let us live and struggle, labor and prosper, in a Leninist, communist, bolshevik manner, with fervor and scope, so that we may be worthy of our great era, the era which gave rise to this magnificent document--the fourth

USSR Constitution--a magnificent charter of the freedoms of the era of developed socialism, a great Marxist-Leninist manifesto of the era of transition from socialism to communism, whose undimmed Leninist light illuminates our path to a cloudless, ever-bright communist future. (Applause).

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## GAPUROV REPORT TO TURKMEN SUPREME SOVIET

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 15 Jul 77 pp 2-3

[Speech by CC CP Turkmenistan First Secretary, Deputy M. G. Gapurov: "The Draft of the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) and the Tasks of the Soviets, Deriving From the Report of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU. Report of CC CP Turkmenistan First Secretary, Deputy M. G. Gapurov"]

[Excerpts] Comrade deputies!

The working people of Soviet Turkmenistan, like all our people, under the guidance of Lenin's Party, are diligently implementing the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. In the mills and plants, on construction sites and in scientific laboratories, on the fields of kolkhozes and sovkhozes-- everywhere there prevails an atmosphere of creative building, the fervor of labor rivalry is mounting, and socialist competition is underway for a worthy greeting to the 60th anniversary of Great October.

Under the guidance of the CPSU, the Soviet people are achieving more and more success in all aspects of economic and cultural development. They are living and working in an atmosphere of creative inspiration; they have boundless faith in their own party, considering its cause to be their own cause. It could not be otherwise: the party has no higher interests than the interests of the people.

The decisions of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU and the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet provide new, convincing, and brilliant proof of this.

The plenum of the CC CPSU that was held on 24 May of this year, as you know, examined the following: the draft of the USSR Constitution, on which a speech was given by CC CPSU General Secretary and Constitutional Commission Chairman Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and the USSR State Hymn, a report on which was given by CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU Secretary Comrade M. A. Suslov.

The plenum of the CC generally approved the draft constitution and recommended that it be submitted for nationwide discussion, also the text and music of the State Hymn; it introduced these issues for discussion by the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On 27 May of this year the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a ukase which in general approved the draft of the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) and submitted it for nationwide discussion. Also approved were the text and music of the USSR State Hymn, performance of which will be inaugurated everywhere on 1 September 1977.

The nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution that is widely underway everywhere now is taking place in an atmosphere of high patriotic fervor and even closer solidarity of the Soviet people around the CPSU. Everywhere, working people are expressing their warm approval of the domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet government, and the results of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU.

The unshakeable unity of the party and the people was also demonstrated by the work of the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, held on 16 July of this year. Expressing the will of all Soviet people, the session enthusiastically adopted the decree concerning the election of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This decree, adopted in accordance with a decision of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, makes profound political sense, is of great party and national importance. It reflects the growing role played in the country's life by the CPSU, the nucleus of all our political system and all working people's organizations.

The election of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the post of Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is consistent with the highest interests of the Soviet society and state. It is dictated by life itself and derives from the actual status of our party as the guiding and directing force of Soviet society. At the same time, it reflects a high assessment of the outstanding personal services performed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev for the CPSU and the Soviet state. For many years now, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has been actually appearing before our people and the whole world as the most prestigious representative of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The republic's workers, kolkhoz members, and intelligentsia, like the whole country, warmly and unanimously welcome the election of L. I. Brezhnev to the post of Head of the Soviet state. They evaluate this as a manifestation of the party's new concern for successful completion of the tasks of the building of communism, strengthening the power and international prestige of our homeland.

Allow me, comrade deputies, in your name, in the name of all the working people of Soviet Turkmenistan, to warmly and heartily congratulate Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev on being elected as chairman of the presidium of the

USSR Supreme Soviet, to wish him good health and continued outstanding success in his tireless, selfless struggle for the nation's well being, for peace and social progress on earth.

Comrade deputies!

The report of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC "The Draft of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" presents a well-argued scientific substantiation of the necessity of adopting a new USSR Constitution; it presents a profound characterization of the draft of the Fundamental Law of the Soviet state, it elucidates its historic significance. In compact form, the report reflects the results of six decades that the Soviet people have followed Lenin's path.

The draft is based on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory; it takes full account of the conclusions and stipulations put forth by our party in recent years on the basis of creative generalization of the experience of the building of communism and world development. All work on the drawing up of the draft of the new constitution has been done under the immediate guidance and with the active participation of the CC CPSU, its Politburo, and CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The main outlines of the draft constitution were set forth by the 25th party congress. The Accountability Report of the CC CPSU to the Congress stated that the new USSR Constitution must reflect the great victories of socialism; it must embody the basic features of a developed socialist society, of its political organization, the principles of administration of the national economy and other spheres of social life; it must stipulate the future development of socialist democracy. "In this way," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the congress, "we are emphasizing the humanitarian character of the socialist state as a state which sets its goal as that of building communism on behalf of the interests of the working man, on behalf of the interests of the whole people. These goals are fully embodied in the draft of the new USSR Constitution, fixing and defining the main principles of the social-economic system and the political organization of Soviet society.

The draft of the Fundamental Law of the land retains and expands on the characteristic features, mapped out by V. I. Lenin himself, of a constitution of the socialist type, also the postulates of previous constitutions of our state.

The first Soviet Constitution--the 1918 RSFSR Constitution--was drawn up, as is well known, under the guidance and with the direct participation of V. I. Lenin. It embodied the gains of October, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, and Red Army Deputies; it proclaimed the basic tasks and goals of the building of socialism. The basic principles instituted by the 1918 Constitution

with respect to the organization of the Soviet state retain their value to this day and are further creatively developed in the practice of the USSR and the other socialist countries.

In 1922, the First Congress of USSR Soviets formed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This constituted a magnificent triumph of Lenin's nationalities policy--a policy of friendship and fraternal cooperation among all peoples--and it was embodied in the 1924 USSR Constitution. It was based on Leninist principles of voluntary union of equal peoples.

The victory of socialism in the USSR in the mid-1930's made it necessary to draw up and introduce a new constitution. The USSR Constitution adopted on 5 December 1936 reflected the profound changes that had taken place in Soviet social and state systems in connection with the laying of the foundations of socialism; it legislatively fixed the victory of socialist social relations in the USSR. The 1936 Constitution proclaimed that all power in the USSR belongs to the working people of the cities and villages, represented by the Soviets of Workers Deputies. Many of the constitutional norms worked out at that time continue to be consistent with the essence of our system.

At the same time, as was emphasized in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, in the more than 40 years that have passed since then there have been enormous changes in Soviet society and in the international arena. During those years, substantial changes have also taken place in the country's economy, which now represents an integrated, powerful national economy organism, also the social structure of Soviet society, in which a new historic community has come into being--the Soviet people, and the Soviet state, which has been transformed from a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people.

"We have created a new society, a society the like of which mankind has never before known," remarked Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress. "It is a society without crises, with a steadily growing economy, with mature socialist relations, with genuine freedom. It is a society in which a scientific materialist world view prevails. It is a society with firm confidence in the future and bright communist perspectives. Opened up before it are boundless expanses of further all-round progress."

The Soviet people, on the basis of what has been achieved, under the guidance of the party, is now resolving more complex historical tasks--tasks of building up the material-technical base of communism, of gradually transforming socialist relations into communist relations, educating the people in the spirit of communist consciousness.

The international status of the USSR has also changed radically. The world-historic victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War not only made it possible to defend the freedom and independence of our homeland but also opened up new favorable possibilities for the rise of the forces of peace and social progress. The transformation of socialism into a world system, the liquidation of capitalist encirclement of our homeland, the

substantial weakening of the positions of capitalism, the coming into being of dozens of new, sovereign states in the place of former colonies, and the unprecedented rise of the international prestige and influence of the Land of the Soviets--all of these have radically changed the deployment of forces in the world arena; they have given rise to genuine possibilities for preventing a new world war, for adopting the principles of peaceful coexistence in the practice of international relations.

The profound changes within the country and in the international arena are comprehensively reflected in the draft of the new constitution. The draft summarizes all the constitutional experience of Soviet history and enriches this experience with new content which meets the requirements of the current era. It is based on the renovation and refinement of Soviet legislation that have been accomplished in recent years, and it makes use of the experience of constitutional development in the fraternal socialist countries.

The increasing scale and complexity of the tasks to be resolved by the Soviet people under the guidance of the party under conditions of developed socialism, the broad political and theoretical foundations of the draft of the new constitution, have left their mark on its content, structure, and size. Compared with the Fundamental Law presently in effect, the draft contains more chapters and articles. The introduction of new sections, chapters, and articles has made it possible to lay down more fully the fundamental constitutional postulates and principles affecting the vitally important spheres of state and social life, to more fully elucidate the social-class essence and directionality of developed socialism.

The draft constitution summarizes the results of the historic path traversed by the Soviet people; it records the structuring of a developed socialist society; it presents an elaborated description of it. In accordance with Leninist tradition, the draft not only reflects the great social-economic and political gains under socialism but also stipulates the program-oriented goals of our party. "The highest goal of the Soviet state," the draft preamble states, "is the building of a classless communist society."

Section 1 of the draft constitution--"Principles of the Social-Political and Economic Structure of the USSR"--opens with a chapter dealing with a characterization of the political system. It points out that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, reflecting the will and interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, of all nations and nationalities of the country." The draft proclaims that all power belongs to the Soviet people. Consistent with this, from now on the representative bodies of authority will be called Soviets of Peoples Deputies.

One of the main features of the new draft constitution is that it presents an elaborated characterization of the role played by the CPSU in the political system of Soviet society. In contrast to the 1936 Constitution it has more to say about the status of our party in the Soviet society and

state. The draft emphasizes that the CPSU is the guiding and leading force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system and all state and social organizations.

Armed with Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the CPSU maps out the overall perspectives of development of society, the course of domestic and foreign policy of the USSR; it guides the great creative activities of the Soviet people, and it imparts a systematic, scientifically-substantiated character to its struggle for the victory of communism. Acting within the framework of the Soviet Constitution, the CPSU, as the ruling party, has defined and will continue to define the political course of action in resolving all key aspects of state life.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution accords a prominent place to social organizations: the trade unions, the Komsomol, the cooperatives, and other associations and working people's creative unions; it enhances their prestige and significance in the political system even more. On them is conferred the right to take part in resolving political, economic, and social-cultural issues, the right of legislative initiative.

A fundamental trend in the development of Soviet society's political system is the further elaboration of socialist democracy. The draft constitution defines the ways of development of this process: "...The increasingly extensive participation of working people in administering the affairs of the society and state, refinement of the state apparatus, increased activity of social organizations, strengthened people's control, a stronger legal foundation for state and social life, more openness, and a constant taking account of public opinion." All sections of the new constitution are suffused with the ideas of a systematic, profound, genuinely popular democratism characteristic of a state of the whole people.

The draft retains the fundamental postulate to the effect that the basis of the USSR's economic system is the socialist ownership of the means of production. It emphasizes that the basic form of this is state ownership representing the common property of the whole Soviet people. The state protects socialist property, creates conditions for increasing it, and promotes the development of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership and its rapprochement with state ownership!

While confirming the citizen's right to personal property and guaranteeing its protection by law, the draft emphasizes that property personally owned and used by citizens cannot be used to gain unearned income or to the detriment of society.

Expressing the fundamental characteristics of the present stage in the development of the national economy, the draft states that the Soviet economy has been transformed into an integrated national economy complex which embraces all levels of social production, distribution, and exchange throughout the country.

For the first time, the draft constitution incorporates a stipulation that the highest goal of social production under socialism is that of most fully meeting the rising material and spiritual needs of the people.

Of fundamental importance is the draft's stipulation that the source of growth of society's wealth and the well being of the nation and every citizen is the free labor of the Soviet people.

In his report at the plenum, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized the necessity of further developing democratic principles in economic development, of boosting the initiative of production collectives, of working people taking active part in administration. "Working people's collectives," the draft states, "take part in administering enterprises and associations, in resolving issues of organization of labor and living conditions, in the utilization of resources earmarked for production development and also social-cultural needs and material incentives."

Compared with the constitution now in effect, the draft contains a chapter "Social Development and Culture." It reflects the characteristics of developed socialism, which provides for all-round social and cultural progress of society, fuller manifestation of the humanitarian nature of the socialist state. The draft's stipulations promote the strengthened social homogeneity of society, the elimination of essential differences between cities and villages, between mental and physical labor; they promote the further development and rapprochement of all nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union--that is, they create favorable social and cultural prerequisites for realizing the program-oriented goals of the party--the confirmation of communist social relations and the shaping of the new man.

The draft constitution stipulates that the state is concerned for the development of public education, science, culture, and art, for improving the working and living conditions of citizens, for raising the real income of the working people consistent with increased labor productivity.

Section 2 of the draft constitution is entitled "The State and the Individual." Life itself, socialist reality, as embodied in constitutional norms, graphically demonstrates that our society is confidently developing in accordance with the lofty principle put forth by K. Marx and F. Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party": "...The free development of each is the condition of the free development of all" ("Works," Vol 4, p 447). A harmonious reconciliation and interaction between social and individual interests is possible only under conditions of socialism on the basis of social ownership and thanks to the scientific administration of all social economic processes on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The draft constitution substantially enriches provisions concerning the rights of Soviet citizens. In addition to confirming and proclaiming the general principle of equality among citizens in all spheres of economic, political, social, and cultural life, regardless of origin, social and property status, national and racial affiliation, sex, education, language,

attitude toward religion, the type and nature of occupation, place of residence, and other circumstances, the draft constitution substantially deepens, develops, and expands provisions governing specific rights and freedoms of citizens, also their duties.

A distinguishing feature of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens is the fact that they are guaranteed. As the social wealth has increased and socialism has developed, these guarantees have become steadily stronger, rights and freedoms are filled with new content, possibilities for conferring rights and freedoms on citizens are expanding. This process is embodied in the draft constitution.

The present constitution, for example, proclaims the right to work--that is, the right to be given a guaranteed job, with wages consistent with the amount and quality of the work. The draft of the new constitution not only confirms this right but also goes considerably farther, guaranteeing the right to choose one's trade, type of occupation, and work in accordance with one's inclinations, abilities, professional training, education, and taking account of social requirements.

The right to an education has also been substantially expanded. This is now secured by providing universal obligatory secondary education for young people, through the extensive development of vocational-technical, secondary specialized, and higher education, through the development of correspondence and evening schools, the vocational guidance system, through the creation of conditions for self-study by the working people, and other measures.

More expansive, compared with the present constitutional right, is the right of Soviet citizens to material security in old age, in the event of sickness, or in the case of complete or partial loss of the ability to work or the loss of the family breadwinner. This right is now extended not only to workers and employees but also to members of kolkhozes. It is provided by universal social insurance, through old-age pensions, disablement pensions, and subsidies during temporary inability to work.

The draft of the new constitution stipulates the right of citizens, possible only under socialism, to state health care. This right is actually provided by a large complex of interacting social measures.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution places the family, motherhood, and childhood under the special protection of the Soviet state. This stipulation, as in the case of those applicable to all other democratic rights and freedoms of citizens, is predicated on providing the necessary material conditions to render aid to families through the development and expansion of a broad network of child care facilities and organizations, through improved consumer services and public catering, through providing aid and benefits to large families, and the payments of subsidies in the event of the birth of a child.



For the first time, the draft constitution stipulates and guarantees the right of citizens to take part in administering state and social affairs. In actuality, Soviet citizens have already extensively enjoyed this right, but until now it was not stipulated in the constitution. The more extensive utilization of this right will promote increased political activity on the part of all segments of the population, strengthening their control over the activities of state bodies.

One new constitutional right conferred on Soviet citizens will be the right to housing. The guaranteeing of this right has become possible, and will be more fully secured in the future, as a result of the implementation of a broad program of housing construction at the expense of the state, also fair distribution of housing space under social control, low rents, and encouragement and help in cooperative and individual housing construction. The right to housing--a vitally important right for man--is proclaimed by our new constitution for the first time in the world.

In this way, the draft constitution stipulates an extensive complex of social-economic rights which touch upon the very fundamentals of human life. Taken altogether, these rights testify to the firm status of human beings in a socialist society. "Now," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his television speech of 29 May of this year, "every Soviet citizen is confident that he will never be without a job, that he will be given the necessary education, that his gifts and talents will be utilized, that he will not be cast to the whim of fate in the event of sickness, that he will be provided for in his old age, and that he can be secure about the fate of his children."

The draft not only retains but also substantially expands the formulation of political rights and freedoms of Soviet people: freedom of speech, the press, assembly, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations.

A significant addition to constitutional guarantees of the rights of the individual will be the right of citizens to submit to state and social bodies proposals for improving their activities, to criticize shortcomings in their work. Persecuting people for criticism is prohibited.

In connection with this, attention should be focused on the fact that in recent times there has been widespread circulation in the West of slanderous concoctions about alleged violations of human rights in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The rights of Soviet citizens are protected by law, and the draft of the new constitution expands these guarantees even further.

Our state of the whole people not only guarantees but indeed secures to its citizens the maximum social-economic and political rights and freedoms, rights and freedoms of which the laboring man in capitalist countries can only dream and which bourgeois propaganda futilely attempts to portray before public opinion in distorted form, for the purpose of making use of dirty tricks and certain persons who have deserted our society and are actively attacking the socialist system.

On this account, the draft of the new constitution directly states that the citizen's exercise of his rights and freedoms must not be to the detriment of the interests of society and the state, of the rights of other citizens, that political freedoms are conferred in accordance with the interests of the working people and for purposes of strengthening the socialist system.

In his speech at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev especially emphasized that the main guarantee of the rights of the Soviet citizen in the long run is the power and prosperity of the homeland, that every citizen must have a sense of his responsibility to society, must conscientiously carry out his duties to the state and the people.

The draft points out that the exercise of rights and freedoms is inseparable from the citizen's execution of his duties. The Soviet citizen is obliged to labor honorably and conscientiously, to defend the homeland. Also acquiring the nature of a constitutional requirement is the duty to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, to promote the strengthening of its power and prestige, to help maintain public order, to struggle against the embezzlement and waste of social property, to protect the environment and conserve its resources, to be concerned for the education of children, to raise them to be worthy members of a socialist society.

It is the internationalist duty of a Soviet citizen to promote the development of friendship and cooperation with peoples of other countries, to support and strengthen world peace.

The draft precisely reflects the further strengthening of socialist legality and law and order. The CC CPSU and the Soviet state have done considerable work to perfect the laws, to create firm guarantees against any kind of violation of the rights of citizens and bureaucratic malfeasance. Continuing this line, the draft emphasizes that compliance with the constitution and the laws is the duty of all state bodies and officials, social organizations, and citizens.

The draft constitution stipulates and guarantees the inviolability of the individual, the inviolability of the home, the law's protection of the citizen's personal life, confidential correspondence, telephone and telegraph messages, the right of citizens to court protection against threats on their life, health, personal freedom, honor, and dignity. More precise constitutional regulation of appropriate relations will help to further strengthen socialist legality and socialist law and order.

The draft retains the basic principles--principles that have fully proved themselves--of the nationality-state structure of the USSR.

The draft emphasizes that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an integrated, unified, multinational state, formed as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics. The USSR embodies the state unity of the Soviet people, unites all nations and nationalities for purposes of the joint building of communism.

Reflecting the objective process of rapprochement between nations and nationalities of our country, the draft constitution is predicated on the necessity of strengthening the state's union principles. This is reflected in the definition of the jurisdiction of the USSR. In contrast to the 1936 Constitution, the draft does not contain an itemized list of the rights of the USSR but rather defines the basic spheres in which the higher bodies of authority in the USSR administration exercise their powers.

"In general, the draft constitution's resolution of aspects of nationality-state structure," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, "provides for a genuinely democratic reconciliation of the common interests of the multinational Union and the interests of each of the constituent republics; it provides for the all-round flourishing and continued rapprochement of all nations and nationalities in our country."

A brilliant example of this is Soviet Turkmenistan; in the past it was an economically and culturally backward backwater of Czarist Russia..

Thanks to the CPSU's systematic implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy, the unstinting help of all the fraternal peoples of the country--especially the great Russian people--our republic has traveled a path equal to centuries during the years of Soviet rule. Present-day Turkmenistan is a highly-developed industrial-agrarian republic.

The party's course of action aimed at liquidating actual inequalities among peoples and its policy of redistributing resources to benefit formerly backward regions have been favorable to the fundamental interests of each republic in the country as a whole. The rapid growth of productive forces in formerly backward republics has made it possible for them to make an increasingly hefty contribution toward resolving the tasks of the building of socialism.

The next section of the draft constitution--"Soviets of Peoples Deputies and Procedures for Electing Them"--lays down the principles of the soviets' activities, the election system, and the legal status of the people's deputy.

Democratic principles governing the formation and activities of the soviets are developed further. Their role is enhanced in resolving the most important issues of the life of society. This is consistent with Lenin's definitions of soviets as bodies expressing the full authority of the people. "A people joined in soviets--that is who ought to administer the state," said V. I. Lenin.

The chapters dealing with the soviets reflect the enormous amount of work done in recent years under the guidance of the CPSU to strengthen the soviets and upgrade their role in the state administration of economic and social-cultural development. The draft stipulates a substantial expansion of the rights of the soviets on all levels, especially the local soviets.

The draft constitution stipulates the fundamentally vital provision that the local Soviets of Peoples Deputies are to resolve not only all problems of local significance, consistent with national interests and the interests of citizens living within the jurisdiction of the soviet, but also implement the decisions of the higher state bodies, and also take part in discussing issues of republic and national importance, submitting their own proposals on these. The unity of higher and local bodies, the predication of supreme authority on local initiative, reflect the basic essence of the soviets--their indissoluble link to the masses of the people.

The draft establishes new terms of office for the Soviets of Peoples Deputies. It is five years for the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics; it is 2.5 years for the local Soviets of Peoples Deputies. the election of courts will be held during the same terms.

The draft calls for strengthening the democratic principles of the election system. By the constitution presently in force, citizens who have reached the age of 23 can be elected deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and citizens reaching the age of 21 can be elected deputies to the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics; the draft of the new constitution confers this right on all Soviet citizens aged 18 or over. This innovation constitutes brilliant proof of society's concern for the younger generation and its trust in young people.

A special section of the draft constitution deals with the higher bodies of state authority and USSR administration--the USSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers. The new constitution will become the basis for the further elaboration of legislative work. In the near future it will be necessary to adopt major legislative acts such as regulation of the Supreme Soviet, the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers, election laws, and others that are directly mentioned in the draft.

A very important direction which, in accordance with the new constitution, will govern the development of the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its presidium will involve the supervision of the Soviets of Peoples Deputies.

The draft of the USSR Constitution lays down the principles of the organization and jurisdiction of USSR administrative bodies. The highest executive and governing body of USSR state authority is the USSR Council of Ministers--the government of the USSR. The USSR Council of Ministers is responsible to the USSR Supreme Soviet and is subordinate to it, or during the period between sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet--to the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, to which it is subordinate. The draft constitution stipulates that the USSR Council of Ministers is to report regularly on its work to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The section entitled "Justice, Arbitration and Procurator Supervision" comprehensively elucidates the profoundly democratic nature of Soviet justice, which promotes the further strengthening of socialist legality and

law and order, the fuller exercise of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens, and protection of their equality before the law and the courts.

Of fundamental importance is draft constitution's inclusion of a special chapter "Foreign Policy." Its inclusion is made necessary by the close interaction between domestic and foreign factors in our development, by the enormous amount of foreign policy activities of the Soviet state, its vital significance to the Soviet people.

For the first time, the constitution will stipulate the provision that the Soviet Union is a component part of the world socialist system, the socialist commonwealth, that it is developing an strengthening friendship, cooperation, and comradely mutual aid with the socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism.

The Soviet state is systematically implementing Lenin's peace policy; it is coming out in favor of strengthening the security of nations and in favor of extensive international cooperation, of strengthening the positions of world socialism, of preventing aggressive wars, of systematically realizing peaceful coexistence among states having different social structures.

Following Lenin's legacies, the Soviet Union has always been and will continue to be a tireless warrior for democratic rights, freedom, and independence for all peoples. A true ally of those who are acting to liquidate all forms of national and social oppression, to achieve genuine equality among nations.

The chapter entitled "Defense of the Socialist Homeland," included in the draft constitution, stipulates that the state insures the protection of socialist gains, the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, and the territorial integrity of the USSR. Our Armed Forces are intimately linked to the people; they rely on their active support. The draft constitution stipulates that the defense of the socialist homeland is a most vital function of the state for all the people.

Also of vital importance is the stipulation, included for the first time among the prerogatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, concerning the formation of a national Defense Council.

In elucidating the significance of the new constitution to the domestic life of the country, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report at the plenum emphasized that implementing its stipulations should raise to a new qualitative level all our state and economic activity, all the work of the bodies of authority and administration.

This refers above all to the more effective exercise of the broad powers of the elective bodies--the soviets. They must make the fullest possible use of the enormous potential possessed by the two-million-man army of deputies--representatives of all segments of the population, all professions, all nationalities.

It is important to note that the draft constitution sets forth the possibilities of constantly perfecting the entire system of socialist management, all the work of planning and other bodies of economic and cultural administration. Their basic functions are spelled out in the draft constitution, and it is essential that they be fully and precisely implemented in order to increase the responsibility of every body, of every official.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his report at the May plenum, the institution of the new USSR Constitution--a constitution of developed socialism--will not only be an event of historic significance in our country but also an event of enormous international significance. It will have an enormous long-term impact far beyond the boundaries of our homeland; it will graphically demonstrate to the world how the socialist state is developing; it will more firmly and deeply confirm socialist democracy.

Our constitution will demonstrate the variety of forms and the enormous scope of the steadily increasing genuine participation of the broad masses of people in administering the affairs of the state and society, something unknown in bourgeois countries, where only a small capitalist class actually rules.

The achievements of victorious socialism, reflected in the draft of the Fundamental Law of the USSR, will be an inspirational example for nations that have recently chosen the path of socialist development; they will bolster the confidence of the working masses in the capitalist countries in their struggle for their rights, to throw off the oppression of capitalist exploitation.

The final section of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the May plenum dealt with the tasks that emerge in connection with submitting the draft of the new USSR Constitution to nationwide discussion. It emphasized the importance of organically coordinating the discussion of the draft with preparations for the celebration of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

At the conclusion of his speech, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev once again emphasized that the adoption of the new USSR Constitution will become an important milestone in the country's political history. It will constitute one more historic contribution of our Leninist Party, of the whole Soviet people, to the great cause of the building of communism and, at the same time, to the internationalist cause of the struggle of the workers of all the world for freedom, for the progress of mankind, for a stable peace on earth.

The materials of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU and the draft of the new USSR Constitution have evoked a huge international response. An endless stream of reactions from abroad to the draft constitution testifies to the fact that the broadest circles of the world community see it as a document of great international significance, of enormous force.

The draft constitution has been published in all of the states of the socialist commonwealth. Our friends abroad and progressive organs of the world press are emphasizing that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the plenum and the draft of the new USSR Constitution reflect the exceptional, genuinely priceless contribution of the CPSU, its Central Committee, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, that the main goal of the Soviet state is to comprehensively raise the standard of living of its citizens, to expand and strengthen socialist democracy, to secure peaceful conditions for social development.

Comrade T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the CC CP Bulgaria and Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, states that the new constitution "enhances the prestige and increases the power of influence of the Soviet Union and genuine socialism among the broad masses of people throughout the world."

The international response evoked by the draft of the new USSR Constitution is so huge that even imperialist propaganda cannot remain silent about it. It is characteristic that the draft was fully or partially published in many major bourgeois newspapers. At times hardly concealing their vexation in the face of the impressive achievements of the Soviet Union in the 60 years since October, many Western mass information media have been compelled to acknowledge that they are dealing here with a significant and remarkable document, that it constitutionally embodies the peace-loving foreign policy course of action of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state.

At the same time, imperialist propaganda is stepping up its attempts to denigrate the historic gains of the Soviet people, to distort the genuinely democratic nature of our society and state. In doing so, the main efforts of our ideological opponents are being concentrated on those stipulations of the draft constitution which proclaim the guiding role of the CPSU in Soviet society, which confirm the principles of democratic centralism, which emphasize the necessity of exercising the rights and freedoms of citizens in the interests of the state and the people. In cahoots with bourgeois propaganda in attacking the social and state structure of the USSR and the draft constitution are the Maoists, who have issued the most unsavory concoctions and slander.

Despite the attempts of anti-Soviet propaganda to distort the character and meaning of the draft constitution, the truth about it is broadly disseminated throughout the world, reaching the most remote corners of our globe. In the draft of the new constitution, the world community can see the progress of the construction of a state which sets as its main goal that of meeting the material and cultural needs of all the people and which is doing everything necessary to achieve this goal; a state for which the highest principle of foreign policy is peace; a state which infuses with vital, genuine content such concepts as democracy and human rights.

The statements and conclusions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU and the draft of the new constitution have evoked enormous interest and warm approval in our republic as everywhere else in the country. This is convincingly demonstrated by the rallies and meetings of party members and working collectives in the republic, meetings of the active party membership, and the plenum of the CC CP Turkmenistan held on 10 June.

Extensive discussion of the draft demonstrates that the republic's workers, kolkhoz members, and intelligentsia unanimously support the wise domestic and foreign policies of the party and the Soviet state; they are expressing a sense of justifiable pride in their homeland, and they welcome the draft of the new Fundamental Law of the country with all their heart. They are striving to respond with shock-work labor to the party's concern for the Soviet citizen; they are striving to observe the 60th anniversary of Great October and the adoption of the new USSR Constitution with new achievements. They are bending every effort toward assuring the successful development of the national economy, boosting its effectiveness, and increasing labor productivity.

Also actively involved in work on the discussion of the draft constitution are the Soviets of Workers Deputies of the republic. Sessions of the soviets on all levels have taken place in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm everywhere; they have discussed the draft and the tasks of the soviets deriving from the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU. The soviets view the discussion of the draft of the Fundamental Law as their very own cause. In the organization of this work, they are striving to reach every adult person in the population, to bring to the consciousness of everyone the content and historical significance of the draft of the new constitution.

Discussion of this vital document coincided with the concluding stage of work on preparing for the holding of elections to local soviets. As you all already know, elections to local soviets everywhere took place in an atmosphere of full unanimity and with new force demonstrated the unity of the party and the people, the warm approval for the domestic and foreign policies of our party, for the draft of the new Soviet Constitution. They constituted convincing proof of the high political commitment of the Soviet people; they demonstrated their unflagging resolve to secure the successful implementation of the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The first sessions of the newly-elected soviets that were held mapped out specific steps for the active participation of all deputies and the community in the nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution, also the further perfecting of the work style and methods of the soviets, more complete exercise of their functions, as stipulated by law. The basis of these efforts comprised the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the statements of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his speech at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 17 June 1977.



Since the beginning of nationwide discussion of the draft constitution, 6,999 meetings of party members and working collectives have been held in enterprises, sovkhoses, kolkhoses, institutions, and organizations; they were attended by 625,708 persons; 37,900 persons made speeches during the discussion of the draft constitution; 39,944 proposals and remarks were submitted. Substantial amounts of materials and proposals were sent to organs of the press, to the republic's television and radio. Here are some of them.

Comrade Kh. Dovliyev, crew leader in the Bakhardenskiy Department of the rayon inter-kolkhoz construction administration, proposes that Article 60 expand the rights of the administration and social organization with regard to violators of labor discipline, also that it reflect and increase the responsibility of persons shirking socially useful labor and living on unearned income.

In consideration of the fact that in many enterprises the production plans are revised several times a year either upward or downward, Comrade V. S. Grishchenko, director of Karabogazsul'fat [Karabogaz Sulfate Association], believes that it is necessary to insert in the draft constitution an independent article or chapter concerning increasing the responsibility of the planning bodies for the scientifically-substantiated planning of production.

Comrade D. M. Abayev, senior scientific staff member of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences, proposes setting up as an independent article the provision concerning permanent commissions of the soviets; he proposes emphasizing the importance of the development of social principles in the activities of the soviets.

There are many such proposals. They graphically confirm the profound commitment of the Soviet people and their dedication and diligence in discussing the draft of the Fundamental Law. We see in this once more the genuine triumph of our socialist democracy.

For this reason, soviets on all levels must, in accordance with the requirements of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, strive further to insure the maximally free and genuinely businesslike discussion of the draft constitution. It is essential that the mechanism for recording proposals and remarks submitted by citizens function accurately and efficiently. It is essentially everywhere to insure necessary preparations for meetings of collectives of workers in order that the discussion deal not just in general with the whole draft, not just overall, as might occur, but specifically by sections, chapters, and articles.

In the course of mass discussion of the draft constitution, the working people are focusing on the practical activities of the soviet and the economic apparatus. Urgent problems that are of concern to the people are being set forth; attention is being focused on unresolved tasks, shortcomings, and oversights in their efforts. It is essential that soviets on all levels--

especially their executive and governing bodies--routinely and specifically react to criticism and proposals, that they take the necessary steps to improve the situation.

Discussion of the draft of the new constitution is taking place during a time when all our people, under the guidance of the party, are engaged in intensive efforts to implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. In this connection, I should like to emphasize the importance of further enhancing the role of the soviets, strengthening their influence on resolving our urgent economic, political, and social tasks, on insuring the unconditional fulfillment of state plans and adopted socialist obligations.

"Now, under conditions of mature socialism," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the meeting of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 17 June of this year, "the work of the soviets must even more fully incorporate the struggle to improve the effectiveness of production, to implement the party's broad social program, to develop all aspects of our socialist democracy--that is, to resolve the tasks of the building of communism."

A most important and high-priority task confronting all our party, soviet, and economic bodies is that of insuring a stable optimality in the fulfillment of production plans by every sector of the national economy, by every labor collective.

At present, unfortunately, such is not the case in all places. The workers of Krasnovodskaya Oblast have failed to fulfill the plan of the first half year. Lagging considerably behind is the collective of Turkmenneft' [Turkmen Petroleum Association], which in the six months failed to deliver 2.8 million rubles worth of product, the Ministry of Rural Construction, and others. Some 37 enterprises failed to fulfill the half-year's plan--they failed to deliver products worth 12.2 million rubles.

Among the lagging enterprises is the Ashkhabad Krasnyy Molot Gas Equipment Plant, the Kazandzhik Construction Materials Plant, the 40 Let TSSR Production Footwear Association, the Mary Leath Goods Plant, the Bezmeinskiy an- Tedzhenskiy Construction Materials and Structures combines, the Ashkhabad Reinforced Concrete Structures Plant, and others.

A number of sectors of the national economy are not yet making adequate use of their production capabilities and existing reserves; the equipment utilization coefficient is low; many products are being turned out sub-standard; violations of labor discipline are occurring.

The existence of shortcomings in the work of industry and capital construction is to a considerable extent linked to the level of administration, planning, and organization of the work of the ministries and departments, the selection and training of cadres. Draft plans that are drawn up do not always take account of the capabilities and existing reserves of production; in many cases, they are oriented toward the current low level of utilization of facilities and material and labor resources.

It is essential to place at the head of all activities, at the basis of the resolution of all problems of the republic's economic development, the task of resolving issues relating to the rapid intensification of production, insuring high and stable rates of increased labor productivity.

In the field of agriculture, it is essential to make every effort and utilize all experience in order to raise a bumper crop of cotton and other farm crops during the jubilee year.

The other day, the CC CP Turkmenistan and the republic's Council of Ministers adopted a decree proclaiming the month between 10 July and 10 August 1977 to be a month of stepped-up care for the cotton crop. During that period, plans call for completing 2.5 cultivation operations on the cotton plantations, 2 waterings and weedings, and one top dressing.

The Turkmen SSR Ministry of Agriculture, the Turkmen Sel'khoztekhnika their local offices, oblast and rayon party committees, oblast executive committees and rayon executive committees, and farm managers must implement the measures stipulated in the decree; they must see to it that a bumper crop of cotton and other farm crops is raised.

Because of the shortage of water, it will be of crucial importance to insure the economical consumption of water; it is essential to chop the cotton early and to combine irrigation with timely, high-quality cultivation. It is also essential to focus more attention on the problem of assigning highly-qualified cadres to all sections of kolkhoz-sovkhoz production.

The soviets must exercise their full rights and capabilities in the matter of comprehensively strengthening labor discipline, of increasing the personal responsibility of every manager, of every worker and kolkhoz member, of every national economy specialist, for their assigned jobs.

The soviets can and must also have considerable influence, in accordance with the powers conferred on them, on perfecting the administration of the economy in the broadest sense of the word.

It is very essential to arrange things so that all of the administrative and planning activities of the executive and governing bodies of the soviets help to better resolve the tasks of economic and cultural development, so that they are oriented toward the end national-economy results, toward more fully and qualitatively meeting the needs of the working people.

The successful accomplishment of these tasks will largely depend on how well every party, trade union, and Komsomol organization, every labor collective, and the Soviets of Workers Deputies on all levels strive to maximize the yield of their own efforts, to put unutilized reserves and capabilities into action, to more diligently improve the organizational and political work among the masses, to step up the struggle against mismanagement, complacency, and lack of discipline--in short, against everything which stands in the way of our progress forward.

In this connection, it is appropriate to recall the lofty words of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev concerning the role of the soviets, words which he expressed at the meeting of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 17 June of this year: "The Communist Party," he said, "has always proceeded on the basis that any of our soviets forms a part of supreme authority, that it not only has the powers to resolve all issues relating to its jurisdiction but also serves as a vehicle of national decisions."

The soviets are a living, mobile, constantly self-rennovating organization. This is the essence of their purpose. Truly broad and multi-faceted is the activity of the soviets. It is the direct duty and obligation of the organs of state authority--from the republic's Supreme Soviet down to the rural and settlement soviets--to be concerned everywhere and actively engaged in promoting the development of industrial and agricultural production, capital construction and public education, social security and health care, communal services and city planning, transportation and communications, trade, public catering and all other spheres of activity relating to the increased well being of the working people.

The decisions of the historic 25th CPSU Congress, the statements made by CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev constitute a vigorous program of activity for the soviets at the present time and in the near future. Allow me to express confidence that the republic's soviets, under the guidance of the party committees, will conduct the discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution in a well-organized fashion and on a high ideological level; they will bend every effort, exercise all their experience and knowledge in the matter of mobilizing the masses to successfully accomplish the tasks of economic and cultural development during the current jubilee year and the Tenth Five-Year Plan as a whole.

Comrade deputies! It is highly symbolic that the new USSR Constitution will be adopted during the year of the 60th anniversary of Great October. The historic revolutionary accomplishments of the Soviet people recorded in the draft constitution, our people's successes in the struggle to build a communist society, the victories we have won on this difficult, unprecedented path--all of these constitute a direct continuation of the cause of October, an embodiment of the ideas of great Lenin.

The working people of Soviet Turkmenistan, like all of our people, have accepted with great enthusiasm the decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU; they consider Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's report at the Plenum and the draft of the new constitution to be outstanding theoretical and political documents that are of great practical importance. The Soviet people are unanimous in the opinion that the fundamental postulates, generalizations, and conclusions of these documents are program-oriented; they constitute a further development in Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the state under conditions of mature, developed socialism.

The draft of the new constitution is a mirror of the magnificent gains of the Soviet people, accomplished under the guidance of the CPSU in the 60 years since October; it is a manifesto of the era of the building of communism. Orieinted toward the future, the draft of the Fundamental Law will constitute a powerful stimulus toward activating the whole social life of the country.

Allow me in the name of all of you, in the name of all the working people of Soviet Turkmenistan, to assure the Leninist Central Committee, the Politburo of the CC, and CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally that the soviets of the republic will see to the broad discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution, will step up their efforts in mobilizing the working people in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and to provide a worthy greeting to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

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## RASULOV REPORT TO TADZHIK SUPREME SOVIET

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 16 Jul 77 pp 1-2

[Speech by CC CP Tadzhikistan First Secretary, Deputy D. R. Rasulov: "The Draft of the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) and the Tasks of the Republic's Soviets, Deriving From the Report of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the Decisions of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU. Report by CC CP Tadzhikistan First Secretary, Deputy D. R. Rasulov"]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrade deputies!

In the history of our country, this year occupies a special place. It is the year of the 60th anniversary of Soviet power, the year of the adoption of a new USSR Constitution--a constitution of developed socialism and developing communism.

These days, the Soviet people are living and working in an atmosphere of creative inspiration, involved in a special labor and political upsurge. It is with a sense of enormous pride for Lenin's Party, for our great homeland, that the working people of Tadzhikistan, like all the Soviet people, perceive the decisions of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU and the statements and conclusions of the report given by CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Constitutional Commission Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at that plenum, the draft of the new constitution--the Fundamental Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Together with all the Soviet people, they warmly support and unanimously approve the decisions of the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Ninth Convocation) concerning the election of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to be Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This is an event of great party and national importance, which brilliantly confirms the genuine enhancement of the guiding and directing role of the CPSU in all the life of the country, in the domestic and foreign policy activities of the Soviet state; it reflects the nationwide acknowledgment of the outstanding personal qualities of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. This high state act expresses the will and interests of the Soviet people.

His profound ideological conviction, his brilliant talents as an organizer, as a far-seeing politician, as a public figure of the Leninist type, his spiritual generosity, his warmth and modesty have won for Comrade L. I. Brezhnev the sincere respect, enormous prestige, and profound affection of the Soviet people. The Soviet people and progressive forces throughout the world link the name of Leonid Il'ich to the hopes for a better future.

Allow me, comrade deputies, in the name of all of you, in the name of all the working people of Soviet Tadzhikistan, to convey to dear Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev our heartfelt congratulations on being elected to the high, responsible post of head of state, our wishes for good health, inexhaustible energy in his tireless titanic struggle for the nation's well being, for peace and social progress on earth.

Leonid Il'ich represents our party, our state, and our heroic people in a Leninist way both within the country and the international arena. New confirmation of this is seen in the impressive results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit to France, which made a major contribution to the cause of strengthening the peace and security of nations.

Comrades! We justly consider Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev--an outstanding political and state figure of the present day, the universally acknowledged leader of the party and the Soviet people--to be the inspirer and creator of the new constitution of the Soviet state. His report at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU profoundly, from Marxist-Leninist positions, substantiated the necessity of adopting a new constitution; it comprehensively elucidated its basic postulates, convincingly demonstrated its enormous significance to the domestic life of the country and the strengthening of the positions of the forces of socialism, peace, and progress in the world arena; it set forth the tasks involved in the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report is a document of enormous theoretical and ideological-political importance, on which is focused the attention of the entire world community. In compact form it reflects the results of the six decades the Soviet people have traveled along the path of Lenin; it elucidates the profound meaning of the draft of the Fundamental Law of the Soviet state. In perusing carefully, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report and every line of the draft of the new constitution, mankind becomes more and more convinced of the dynamic development of our state, consolidating socialist democracy ever more deeply and firmly. In terms of its importance, its impact on the domestic life of our state, on the whole situation in the world, the adoption of the new constitution will be of enormous, genuinely historic significance.

Our republic's working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, together with all the Soviet people, are highly appreciative of this most important political document of our era, a document which convincingly demonstrates the world-historic accomplishments of Great October, the heroic path.

traveled by our people; it theoretically substantiates, generalizes, and embodies the great achievements of the land of victorious socialism.

The process of extensive discussion is brilliantly elucidating the remarkable features of the moral makeup of our people--their patriotism and internationalism, their profound dedication to the cause of the Communist Party. It is with profound satisfaction and pride that the republic's working people contemplate the magnificent social-economic transformations in the 40 years since the adoption of the constitution now in effect. In studying the provisions of the draft of the new constitution, every Soviet citizen can contemplate and meditate on the glorious historic path traveled by our multinational state, our Soviet people, under the guidance of the CPSU, confidently blazing a path toward a bright future--communism.

The major result of the past 40 years is the building of a developed, mature socialist society in the Soviet Union. Radical changes have touched upon all aspects of the country's social life and economy. Now, socialist ownership is firmly entrenched in the country. An integrated, powerful national economy organism has been developed and is successfully functioning; it is developing on the basis of combining the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system.

The social makeup of Soviet society has changed. The unshakeable alliance of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the national intelligentsia has become even stronger.

Equality among nations has become not merely a juridical but also an actual fact. All of the Soviet republics have achieved a high level of development. This is also graphically evident in the case of our own example. Many of us can remember very well the prerevolutionary past of Tadzhikistan. It was an exploited land, without rights, reduced to horrible poverty.

In just six decades, the republic has gone through an entire historic era toward the heights of political, economic, social, and cultural progress. And we must not forget that this was achieved in difficult, bitter battle with the plottings of imperialist circles. In practical terms, it was only in the early 1930's that the republic gained the possibility of fully converting to peaceful construction, which was, of course, interrupted by the war.

Literally from the very first days of its existence, the republic has benefited from the enormous and comprehensive help of the party and the Soviet state, the fraternal support of the Soviet peoples, especially our older brother--the great Russian people. This accounts for the dynamism and the rapid pace of economic and cultural development, mounting year by year.

The depth and scope of the transformations are genuinely astonishing; they instill in the hearts of the people a sense of patriotic pride. With each passing year we can see how increasingly wonderful and fine life is becoming, we can see more completely and clearly the remarkable features of the Soviet way of life. Since the adoption of the constitution now in effect--that is,



40 years--the population of Tadzhikistan has increased by more than 2.5 times, now exceeding 3.6 million persons. The size of the working class has grown by 11 times.

The republic's economy is developing dynamically; it constitutes a component part of the integrated national-economy complex of the country. Some 100 sectors of industry, including machine building, nonferrous metallurgy, chemistry, metalworking, electrical equipment, light, and food, are producing more than 1,000 types of goods. The industrial production output in the 40 years has increased by almost 25 times. In 10.5 days, industry turns out the same amount of goods as were produced in all of 1937. These figures speak for themselves, and need no comment.

Comrades! Naturally, you have all become acquainted with the draft of the new USSR Constitution and the materials of the May 1977 Plenum and the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For this reason, allow me to dwell only on the most important provisions of these documents and the tasks deriving from them.

In his report at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, elucidating the fundamental principles of the draft of the new constitution and its theoretical and practical foundations, emphasized that the entire document, every section, chapter, and article constitute an embodiment and development of Lenin's ideas and legacies. It embodies all of the best that we have gained in the experience of the building of socialism in our country, also the constitutional experience of the fraternal socialist countries; it is fully consistent with the stipulations of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The draft constitution reflects the historic gains of socialism, the highest principles of the socialist system, its class essence, the political and economic system of the Soviet state, its peace-loving character. With the building of mature socialism and the conversion of all segments of the population to the ideological-political positions of the working class, the Soviet state, which came into being as a dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a state of all the people. All of the nations and nationalities of the great Land of the Soviets are drawing closer together. All segments of the population, representatives of all nations and nationalities, are proud of the fact that we have developed a new historic community of people--the Soviet people.

Proceeding from what has been achieved, the Soviet people, under the guidance of the party, is now resolving more complex historic tasks--tasks of building up the material-technical base of communism, of gradually transforming socialist relations into communist relations, of educating the people in the spirit of communist consciousness.

Profound, positive changes have taken place in the international status of the Soviet Union. New opportunities have opened up for the growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy, and peace throughout the world. Socialism has been transformed into a world system.

The positions of capitalism are considerably weakened. Dozens of new, sovereign states have replaced the former colonies; the international prestige and influence of the Land of the Soviets have grown immeasurably. All of this has radically altered the deployment of forces in the world arena; it has given rise to genuine possibilities for preventing a new world war, for adopting the principles of peaceful coexistence into the practice of international relations. But in order for this process to become irreversible, the party, the Central Committee, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally will continue to wage an active, consistent, just, and humanitarian struggle for peace throughout the world.

The profound satisfaction and warm support of the entire Soviet people have been evoked by the fact that a special article in the draft constitution comprehensively reflects the guiding role of the CPSU, which exists for the people and serves the people. At all stages, our Leninist Party has honorably fulfilled and continues to fulfill its historic mission, emerging as the tried and tested vanguard of the Soviet people, confidently leading the Soviet people along Lenin's path toward communism. This constitutes the main guarantee of the successful implementation of the impressive plans and noble tasks of the building of communism.

In studying the draft constitution, we can hardly fail to note that it is suffused with enormous concern for expanding and strengthening socialist democracy. This is a logical development. The more mature socialist society becomes, the higher the commitment of the working people in all social affairs, the more fully genuine people's rule is exercised, as V. I. Lenin stated.

It is along these lines that democratic principles of the formation and activities of the soviets are being further developed; it is through the soviets that our people exercise their will and their authority. For this reason, it is perfectly justified that from now on the soviets will be known as Soviets of Peoples Deputies..

About one month ago, regular elections to local soviets were held in the republic. Like everywhere else in the country, they demonstrated the triumph of Soviet democracy, the unshakeable unity of the party and the people. The elections were participated in by practically everyone having the right to vote. Some 99.7 percent of the voters voted for candidates which included both party members and non-party members. A total of 24,890 deputies were elected. This is in excess of 12,000 more than were included in the local soviets of the first convocation. Among the people's elected, more than 69 percent are workers and kolkhoz members; 47.5 percent are women; 38.9 percent are young people below the age of 30, including 23 percent Komsomol members.

More than half of the deputies were elected for the first time. This means that the soviets are getting an influx of fresh forces; they include more and more specialists, leaders in production, and good organizers. All of this testifies brilliantly to the genuine democratism of our election system, the fact that the broadest masses of the working people are taking part in the administration of state affairs.

Soviet deputies and their active membership constitute considerable power. And it is very important that this power be utilized with the greatest effect so that every deputy can do his utmost, with a sense of high responsibility, to fulfill the obligations assigned to him. To justify the high trust placed in him is the priority duty of every officer elected by the people.

The specific tasks of the soviets are specifically formulated in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the first meeting of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet held under his chairmanship on 17 June of this year. Now the task is to see to it that all of the newly-elected soviets, the republic's government, the ministries and departments diligently enhance the quality of their work, constantly checking it against the requirements of the constitution and the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

"The Communist Party," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "has always proceeded on the basis that everyone of our soviets forms a part of supreme authority, that it not only has the powers to resolve all issues relating to its jurisdiction but also serves as a vehicle of national decisions. This, comrades, is an exceptionally vital principle. Such unity between higher and local organs, the predication of supreme authority on local initiative, reflect the basic essence of the soviets--their indissoluble link to the masses of the people."

The statements and conclusions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the meeting of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet constitute a specific program of actions for all the soviets. Every Soviet of Workers Deputies must on this basis work out appropriate measures and be guided by them in their practical work.

In the same way that at one time the soviets managed to unite in a single, mainstream the revolutionary movement of the masses and their efforts in the building of socialism, now, in the same way, under conditions of mature socialism, the work of the soviets must even more fully incorporate the struggle to improve production effectiveness, to implement the party's broad social program, to develop all aspects of our socialist democracy--that is, to resolve the tasks of the building of communism.

A most vital feature of the draft constitution is the further development of the social-economic, political, and personal freedoms of the Soviet people. In contrast to the constitutions of the bourgeois countries, which formerly proclaim rights and freedoms, here the focus of attention is on genuine guarantees of rights, on the fact that they are materially secured by the

socialist state. And the most important right is the right to freedom, to a happy and joyful life, to all-round harmonious development of the individual. The Soviet people are confident in their future; they are secure about the fate of their children; everyone is firmly aware that he will never be without work, without an education; that in the case of illness or old age he will not be forgotten, that the mighty socialist state is safeguarding his interests and his rights.

At the same time, the draft constitution emphasizes that the exercise of constitutionally guaranteed rights is inseparably linked to the citizen's execution of his duties to the state and society. For this reason, literally everyone must be aware not only of his rights but also his duties; he must conscientiously carry out his duty to the homeland and the people. It should be mentioned that this factor is especially emphasized in speeches and responses by our glorious veterans of the struggle for the establishment of Soviet power, of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, organizers of kolkhoz production, leaders in labor. This material must be obligatorily utilized in work being done to explain the draft constitution.

Rights and freedoms must not be exercised to the detriment of the interests of the state and society. This provision of the draft of the Fundamental Law is profoundly well understood and supported. The draft constitution stipulates all of the rights and freedoms provided by developed socialism to the absolute majority of citizens--active participants in the building of communism, honorable and conscientious workers.

It is necessary to explain clearly that the rights stipulated in the draft constitution will be exercised all the more fully and deeply as the potential of our socialist state increases, as the pace of economic development is stepped up. And this depends on the efforts of every Soviet citizen, on how the effectiveness of social production and the quality of all our work improves.

It is essential that everyone be made aware that our Fundamental Law does not confer freedoms and rights on parasites, money-grubbers, disruptors of public order, those who love to live at the expense of society. It is even more essential to decisively rebuff the so-called "dissidents" that worthless gang of renegades who dance to the tune of the reactionary imperialist circles and attempt to denigrate the Soviet way of life and belittle our achievements.

Everyone must consider it his sacred duty to defend the honor and dignity of our homeland, to be concerned with safeguarding and multiplying socialist property, defending the interests of our state of the whole people. In this connection, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev points out that the deputies, soviets, and the whole community must in every way cooperate to strengthen legality, to manifest more diligence and initiative in this regard.

At the same time, Leonid Il'ich remarked, the new constitution must call for considerably improving the work of all bodies responsible for insuring strict compliance with the laws--the procurator's office, the procurator's offices, the courts, arbitration agencies, the militia, and agencies of people's control. The party expects these bodies to show even more initiative, integrity, and steadfastness in the struggle with any disruptors of law and order.

Comrades! The new constitution constitutes yet one more convincing proof of the triumph of Lenin's nationalities policy, the unshakeable unity and friendship of all nations and nationalities in our country. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an integrated, unified multinational state, which unites all nations and nationalities in our countries, joined in a common, great goal--the building of communism. The sovereign rights of the union republics, as the draft constitution indicates, are guaranteed by the USSR. Represented by their higher bodies of state authority, they are given the right of legislative initiative. The republics have the right to participate in resolving issues within the jurisdiction of the USSR.

The harmonious reconciliation of the common interests of our multinational state and the interests of every union republic is promoting the rapprochement of all nations and nationalities of the country. It is our duty to strengthen our integrated, unified state, to protect and constantly strengthen the unshakeable friendship of the Tadzhik people with our older brother--the Russian people--and with all peoples of our country; it is our duty to educate the working people in a spirit of patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The draft of the new constitution is a document of enormous political, mobilizing power; coalescing in it are Lenin's genius, the wisdom and experience of the CPSU, and the titanic creative energy of the Soviet people.

At the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that the organization of nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution is a matter of high-priority importance for all of our organizations, for all of our cadres, and the prime duty of the soviets. Guided by this principle, party, soviet, and social organizations of the republic are carrying out a very large-scale and highly-significant amount of organizational and mass-political work. The following data indicate its scope.

The plenum of the CC CP Tadzhikistan was held, and meetings of the active membership were held in all oblasts, cities, and rayons; they were participated in by about 12,000 persons. More than 4,350 party organizations held open party meetings attended by more 200,000 persons; about 24,000 persons gave speeches.

The draft constitution has been discussed in sessions of all the republic's 410 local soviets. About 6,500 meetings of workers have been held, with the participation of more than 800,000 persons, and more than 30,000 persons gave speeches. About 3,000 news items were published in the local press and submitted to radio and television. Considerable work in discussion of

the draft constitution is also being done by the trade unions and the Komso-mol. Along with unanimous approval of the statements and conclusions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report and the draft of the new constitution, they speak with pride about the magnificent gains won by the Soviet people, about the remarkable changes that have taken place in the life of every family; they introduce proposals on the draft constitution.

Considerable attention is being focused on improving the activities of the local soviets, their executive-governing bodies, permanent commissions, deputies, and all links of state administration; constructive and business-like comments are being submitted with regard to specific shortcomings and ways to eliminate them. All of these are being studied and summarized and being submitted to the proper authorities. Efficient measures are being taken on many of them.

Elucidation and discussion of the draft of the new constitution are continuing. This work must be constantly improved, deepened, and conducted with greater purposefulness. It must be kept in mind, moreover, that preparations for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of October and the discussion of the draft of the new constitution are organically linked measures which complement one another. This means that the discussion of the draft of the Fundamental Law must with even greater force promote the activization of social life, a new upsurge of socialist competition, improvements in all economic-political results of the year.

Another main direction of these efforts must also include the active, vigorous propagandizing of the Soviet way of life, a brilliant specific demonstration of the advantages of socialist democracy, unmasking of the vicious, slanderous concoctions of the bourgeois ideologues with regard to the completely fabricated issue of "human rights" in the USSR and other socialist countries.

Comrades! On the basis of the new USSR Constitution we will have to draw up and adopt a new Tadzhik SSR Constitution.

The CC CP Tadzhikistan and the presidium of the Tadzhik SSR Supreme Soviet are today submitting to the session a proposal on setting up and determining the makeup of a commission to prepare a new Tadzhik SSR Constitution. This has in mind, moreover, that the draft to be submitted by the commission will be published in December 1977 or January 1978 for extensive discussion, and in the fourth quarter of next year it will be considered at an extraordinary session of the Tadzhik SSR Supreme Soviet.

After adoption of the new Tadzhik Constitution, appropriate efforts must also be implemented in the field of legislation so that it better reflects life's requirements and is fully consistent with the provisions of the constitution. Such efforts are underway and must be continued. Very important here are the role and initiative of the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, the permanent commissions of the Supreme Soviet, and the appropriate ministries and departments, scientific establishments, scientific legal experts, and local soviet bodies.

As you know, comrades, the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has approved the text and music of the USSR State Hymn. It has been translated into Tadzhik and published in the local press. Similar work is underway with regard to preparing a Tadzhik SSR State Hymn.

Let me emphasize once more that all of the work that we are doing with regard to explaining and discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution must be inseparable from the task of resolving the specific economic-political problems; they must be accompanied by a continuous rise in the labor and social commitment of the working people, by further development of socialist competition to provide a worthy greeting to the 60th anniversary of Great October, to achieve the best possible results in completing the targets of the second year of the five-year plan--the year of the adoption of the new constitution.

Less than four months remain until the jubilee. This time must be utilized to the maximum. In this connection, allow me to inform the deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet how the plans and socialist obligations of the jubilee year are being fulfilled.

We believe that many labor collectives can and must revise upward previously-adopted socialist obligations, as has already been done in a number of enterprises and on some kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the republic. This kind of work must be done everywhere. Special attention must be focused on boosting labor productivity, increasing the output-capital ratio, and improving product quality--in short, all the factors which determine production effectiveness.

The accomplishment of the social-economic program that has been mapped out is largely dependent on the pace and quality of capital construction, on the timely delivery of production, social-cultural, and consumer service facilities. It should be pointed out that in recent months certain advances have been made in our construction work. On the whole, however, the situation is cause for serious alarm. Plans for capital investment spending and the commissioning of fixed assets during the first half year have not been fulfilled. Meanwhile, in the time that remains schedules call for putting new facilities into operation in 18 very important republic enterprises and putting 407,000 square meters of housing space into operation (69 percent of the annual plan), also preschool child care facilities accommodating 4,200 children, schools accommodating almost 25,000 pupils, a number of major livestock complexes, more than 6,000 hectares of new irrigated land, and a number of other projects. The task is a very difficult one, but it can and must be done.

It is essential, therefore, to undertake steps to further concentrate forces and resources on priority projects, to concentrate efforts on overcoming the current lag, to insure the completion of obligations with respect to the commissioning of production facilities, housing, child care facilities, schools, hospitals, and other projects.

The executive committees of the local soviets must take all of these segments under their direct supervision. Priority attention must be focused on providing construction projects with cadre workers. The resolution of this problem will largely determine progress in capital construction. Many local soviets, however, are essentially uninvolved in this problem.

It was with enormous satisfaction that every soviet citizen read the section in the draft constitution which proclaims the right to housing. At the same time, however, we must not forget that this right is based primarily on fulfilling and overfulfilling plans of housing construction. And this imposes special responsibility on the local soviets and construction workers for the situation in this regard. It is also essential everywhere to unconditionally follow proper procedures in housing distribution.

In recent years, the capabilities of the local soviets have increased considerably with regard to the structural development of cities, rayon centers, workers' settlements, and kishlaks. Budget appropriations for these purposes are rising every year. In 1976 alone more than 21 million rubles were spent on structural development. Many local soviets are utilizing these funds with good effect.

The situation is not so good everywhere, however. Last year, for example, Komsomolabadskiy, Fayzabadskiy, Kuybyshevskiy, Yavanskiy, and some other rayons failed to spend amounts that were allocated for structural development. In many rayons these funds are being used for the wrong purposes--for all kinds of advertising and decoration that no one needs.

Mention should also be made of the fact that inadequate use is being made of the potential of cooperative operations and concentration of the resources of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and enterprises in the matter of the structural development of population centers. This is a serious shortcoming in the activities of the local soviets, one which indicates that they do not always focus the necessary attention on structural development and tasks of improving the cultural and living conditions of the population.

It is the duty of every local soviet to make complete use of the funds allocated to it, and to seek out additional sources (within the law, of course) for structural development, the construction of housing, child care facilities, medical facilities, and cultural and educational institutions.

The other day the CC CP Tadzhikistan held a conference to deal with the problem of improving the organization of trading and public catering. A number of extremely substantial shortcomings were disclosed in the work of these very important segments. At the same time, discussion of the problem showed that we possess enormous reserves and potentials for improving the activities of these organizations. It is a vital task of the local soviets to put them into action as quickly as possible.



It is a prime duty of the bodies of state authority--the republic's Supreme Soviet, Council of Ministers, all local soviets, ministries, and departments to be concerned with improving cultural-amenity, medical, and shopping services for the working people, with more fully meeting their rising needs.

Considerable attention was focused on all these issues in preelection meetings and in voters' mandates. They must be carefully analyzed and summarized; specific measures must be mapped out to implement them and to determine the officials responsible for the work. It must be kept in mind that the execution of many mandates of the voters depends only on the quality of the work of the various ministries, departments, and local soviets; they do not require any additional time or capital investments.

As you can see, comrades, the tasks before us are complex and huge; they require complete mobilization, a high sense of responsibility on the part of everyone. But we are up to these tasks. We have everything necessary to resolve them--an excellent material-technical base, experience. But the main thing is that we have well-educated, efficient, resourceful cadres, excellent specialists and organizers capable of leading the people.

"At present, when our people are heading to meet the 60th anniversary of Great October," remarked Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, "when the draft of the Fundamental Law of the country is being discussed everywhere, we are especially aware of the active and creative participation of the Soviet people in implementing the plans mapped out by our Leninist party in the building of communism."

It is the duty of party and soviet bodies to do everything possible to see that social and labor activities mount even higher, that a good working atmosphere is created everywhere, that high demands and exigencies are coupled with a sensitive, considerate attitude toward people.

Esteemed comrade deputies!

Allow me, in the name of the CC CP Tadzhikistan, the presidium of the Tadzhik SSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, to express firm confidence that the working people of Tadzhikistan, guided by the decisions of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU and the statements and conclusions of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at that plenum, and unanimously approving the draft of the new USSR Constitution, will respond with selfless labor to the concern shown by Lenin's party for the well being of the Soviet people; they will more energetically and diligently struggle to implement the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, to provide a worthy greeting for the nationwide celebration of the 60th anniversary of Great October! This is our assurance to the Leninist CC CPSU, the Politburo of the CC CPSU, and CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally. (Applause).

## ALIYEV REPORT TO AZERBAJDZHAN SUPREME SOVIET

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 8 Jul 77 pp 1-3

[Speech by CC CP Azerbaydzhan First Secretary and Candidate for Membership in Politburo of CC CPSU, Deputy G. A. Aliyev: "The Draft of the USSR Constitution and the Tasks of the Soviets of Workers Deputies Azerbaydzhan SSR, Deriving from the Decisions of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU and the Report of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Report of CC CP Azerbaydzhan First Secretary and Candidate for Membership in Politburo of CC CPSU, Deputy G. A. Aliyev"]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrade deputies!

During the banner year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the draft of a new USSR Constitution has been submitted for nationwide discussion. This is profoundly symbolic. The draft constitution reflects the revolutionary accomplishments of the Soviet people, their successes in the struggle to build a communist society, the victories they have won on a difficult, unprecedented path, constituting a direct continuation of the cause of October, and implementation of the ideas of great Lenin. (Loud applause).

The draft of the new USSR Constitution, drawn up in accordance with the directives of the 25th CPSU Congress, is a document of world-historic importance. It brilliantly embodies the dialectical unity of Leninist principles of state development, the abundant experience of the building of communism accumulated by the Land of the Soviets, the magnificent goals and tasks of a socialist society at the present stage. The draft of the new constitution comprehensively portrays the profound changes that have taken place in the country and in the international arena; it summarizes all the constitutional experience of Soviet history and enriches this experience with new content to meet the needs of the present day.

The new Soviet Constitution is a mirror of the great achievements of the world's first socialist state. Through the unshakeable power of its Leninist truth it conveys to all the world the lofty social-political gains of our society; it is a genuine manifesto of the present era--the era of the rise of a communist social formation. (Loud applause).

As you know, the draft constitution was discussed and unanimously approved at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU. In his speech at the plenum, CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Constitutional Commission Comrade L. I. Brezhnev gave a profound, scientific analysis of the radical changes that have taken place in our country and throughout the world since the adoption of the constitution now in effect; he elucidated the genuinely epochal gains of the developed socialist society, built by the Soviet people under the guidance of the CPSU. (Loud applause).

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report creatively elaborates and enriches Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the state and socialist society; it constitutes a new, remarkable contribution to the treasure house of scientific communism. This outstanding document of today reflects in bold relief the highest principles of the socialist structure and its class essence; it comprehensively substantiates the necessity of adopting a new USSR Constitution; it characterizes its main features. The statements and conclusions in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report have been wholly and completely supported and approved by the plenum of the CC CPSU, by all our party, and by the whole Soviet people.

The decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, which will occupy a prominent place in the glorious annals of Lenin's party and the Soviet state, signal a new historic stage in the life of our socialist society; they open up inspiring prospects to the Soviet people.

The May Plenum of the CC CPSU found it advisable that CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev simultaneously hold the post of Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This proposal was unanimously supported by the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which enthusiastically elected Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. (Loud, prolonged applause).

Merging the posts of CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has profound political meaning. We see in this above all a manifestation of the constantly increasing role of guidance played by the CPSU, which constitutes the nucleus of all our political system, all state and social organizations. The election of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is consistent with the highest interests of Soviet society and the state; it will promote new successes in implementing the historic decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, a new accomplishment in the building of communism. This act of wisdom expresses the will of the whole party, of the whole multinational family of Soviet peoples. (Loud applause).

The election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is an acknowledgment of his personal outstanding merits. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is an example of the political and state leader of the Leninist type. He has dedicated his multi-faceted talents, inexhaustible energy, enormous experience, and his entire life to serving the laboring people; the great cause of the building of communism. Linked to the name

of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is the Peace Program adopted by the 24th party congress and further developed at the 25th CPSU Congress, and all basic steps by our party and the Soviet state aimed at relaxing international tension and insuring a firm and durable peace. (Applause). For many years now, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has appeared before the world as the most authoritative leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state, worthily representing the great Soviet Union in international negotiations dealing with the most vital international problems. (Applause).

By his selfless, titanic activities for the good of our homeland and for the sake of eternal peace on earth, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has won the boundless love and gratitude of the Soviet people, the highest prestige and respect of all people of good will. (Loud applause).

The working people of Azerbaydzhan, like all the Soviet people, warmly and unanimously approve the election of our country's political leader--CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev--to serve simultaneously as the constitutional head of state. (Loud applause). Allow me, comrade deputies, in the name of the Supreme Soviet, in the name of the people of Azerbaydzhan, of all working people of the republic to heartily congratulate Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev on being elected Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to wish him good health, happiness, and more and more new success in his diligent political and state activities. (Loud, prolonged applause).

Comrade deputies! All the Soviet people--workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, the older generation and the younger--have for more than one month now been studying and discussing the draft of the Fundamental Law of the USSR, with a sense of profound satisfaction and patriotic pride in the world-historic victory of our country.

Nationwide discussion is taking place in an atmosphere of unprecedented activity and profound personal commitment on the part of the Soviet people. This manifests with special clarity the Soviet citizen's consciousness that his destiny is linked to the destiny of the state, his sense of being the master of his own country. The nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution is a new expression of a remarkable Leninist tradition--that of conferring with the people in all vital matters of the state, of listening sensitively to the voice of the people, of extracting valuable counsel and proposals from the treasury of the people's vital experience and wisdom. Manifested in this is the party's great faith in the power of the collective reason of the people, profound respect toward the laboring people and their opinion.

Nationwide discussion of the draft of the Fundamental Law of our state represents a crucial stage in the life of party, soviet, and social organizations, of all labor collectives. "We face the task," remarked Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, "of insuring the maximally broad, free, and genuinely business like discussion of the draft constitution, of involving in it the masses of working people, representatives of all segments

of the population, of utilizing for these purposes the forms of social activity that we have developed."

The time that has passed since the publication of the draft constitution and the report of CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Constitutional Commission Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has shown that the study of these historic documents in our republic, as throughout the country, is taking place in an atmosphere of enormous political and labor enthusiasm. Broad discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution was launched in rallies that were held, whose participants warmly approved the decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and the draft constitution. (Applause).

A vital role in elaborating the discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution in the republic was played by the 10 June Plenum of the CC CP Azerbaydzhan, oblast, city, and rayon meetings of the active party membership, sessions of local Soviets of Workers Deputies, which discussed and approved the draft of the USSR Constitution and mapped out the tasks deriving from Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report.

The speeches given at rallies and meetings, and responses by working people coming into party committees and organs of the press have highly evaluated the draft of the new constitution as an outstanding theoretical and political document which from Marxist-Leninist positions discusses problems of development of the Soviet state, profoundly and comprehensively substantiate the basic postulates defining the building of a communist society in our country. Workers of Azerbaydzhan see this document as a new and convincing manifestation of the concern of Lenin's party for the steady flourishing of the socialist homeland, for strengthening its power and authority, for creating the most favorable conditions for the development and use of the creative powers, capabilities, and gifts, the harmonious development of the Soviet people. (Applause).

It is with profound satisfaction that party members and all working people of the republic acknowledge the enormous, fruitful efforts made by the Constitutional Commission, headed by CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Workers, kolkhoz members, and the laboring intelligentsia of Azerbaydzhan expressed boundless appreciation and heartfelt gratitude to the Leninist CC CPSU, the Politburo of the Central Committee, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally for their great, tireless concern for the prosperity of our socialist homeland, for enhancing the well being of the Soviet people, for the systematic implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy, for constant attention and enormous aid in developing the economy and culture of our republic. (Loud applause).

At present the draft of the USSR Constitution is being studied in depth in the collectives and discussed in the primary party organizations. So far, more than 5,800 open party meetings have been held, participated in by more than 418,000 persons; more than 48,000 persons have given speeches. Workers and kolkhoz members, the scientific and creative intelligentsia, military

personnel and young people, warmly approving the draft of the USSR Constitution, are submitting their own proposals and amendments aimed at strengthening even further the economic and defense power of our state, at improving state discipline and the responsibility of people for carrying out their social duties, strict compliance with the rules governing life in a socialist society.

Discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution serves as a powerful stimulus for all-out activization of social-political life in the republic, for further enhancing the creative initiative of the masses. During the course of discussion, more than 50 enterprises and more than 60,000 production leaders have adopted additional socialist obligations.

Public opinion and mass information media abroad have attended the draft of the new USSR Constitution with great interest.

In the socialist countries, the fraternal communist and workers' parties consider the draft of the new USSR Constitution to be an outstanding document of our time, a new achievement in the development of doctrines concerning the socialist state. Numerous responses emphasize that the adoption of a new USSR Constitution will be of enormous importance not only in the domestic life of the Soviet Union but also the whole socialist commonwealth, for strengthening the positions of the forces of socialism, peace, and progress in the international arena.

"The new constitution even more enhances the prestige and increases the magnetic power of the Soviet Union and genuine socialism among the broadest masses of the people throughout the world," emphasized Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC CP Bulgaria and Chairman of the State Council of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria. Discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution at the plenum of the CC CPSU, declared General Secretary of the Chilean Community Party Luis Corvalan from the speaker's stand at an international scientific conference held in Baku, "demonstrates to the world that socialism and communism are the path of genuine democracy."

The Polish newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU called the draft constitution "a remarkable document of historic significance, reflecting a higher stage in the development of Soviet society." Adoption of the new USSR Constitution will be an event of enormous historic significance, writes the Cuban newspaper GRANMA. This document reflects in a specific way the aspirations of the first socialist state toward peace, democracy, and progress, comments Mongolian television.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution is being widely commented on in the developing countries, whose progressive forces see in it a testimony of the outstanding successes of the world's first socialist state, of the indisputable advantages of the socialist social structure, of the remarkable perspectives of the further development of our country.

The draft of the USSR Constitution has evoked considerable public response in the capitalist countries. Many eminent state and social figures and observers have commented specially on the fact that the draft of the new constitution contains a special chapter entitled "Foreign Policy." The importance of this section, in particular, was commented on by THE NEW YORK TIMES, emphasizing that its content in many ways echoes the Concluding Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The draft of the new constitution, writes the London TIMES, confirms that the USSR is pursuing peaceful goals, that it is striving to develop peaceful coexistence. Such comments in the Western mass media are in gross conflict with the anti-Soviet campaign fanned by certain circles with regard to imaginary "violations of human rights" in the socialist countries and the so-called "military threat" of the Soviet Union.

Despite attempts of anti-Soviet propaganda to distort the character and meaning of the draft constitution, the truth about it is widely disseminated throughout the world, reaching the most remote corners of our globe. The world community can see in the draft of the new constitution the process of building of a state which sets as its main goal that of meeting the material and cultural needs of all the people, a state which is infusing with vital, genuine content such concepts as democracy and human rights, a state for which the highest principle of foreign policy is peace. (Applause).

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU presented a detailed characterization of the draft of the USSR Constitution; it convincingly substantiated all the new provisions incorporated in it. For this reason, allow me to dwell only on certain aspects.

The growing scale and complexity of the tasks to be resolved by the Soviet people under the guidance of the party at the present stage of the building of communism, the higher organization of the social and state structure under conditions of developed socialism, and the broad political and theoretical foundations of the draft of the new constitution have left their stamp on its content, structure, and size. Compared to the Fundamental Law now in effect, the draft contains more chapters (21 versus 13) and articles (173 versus 147). The incorporation of new sections, chapters, and articles has made it possible to reflect the profound changes that have taken place in 40 years in our society, to elucidate more fully the social-class essence and directionality of developed socialism, the new features inherent in our system.

Consistent with Leninist tradition, the draft not only reflects the great social-economic and political gains of socialism but also records the program-oriented goals of our party. "The highest goal of the Soviet state," declares the preamble of the draft, "is the building of a classless communist society."

One of the main features in the draft of the new constitution is the fact that it presents an elaborated description of the role of the CPSU in the political system of Soviet society.

The entire course of our country's historical development demonstrates with convincing force that as the tasks of the building of communism expand and become more complex the guidance and leadership role of the CPSU increases. Acting within the framework of the Soviet Constitution, the CPSU, as the ruling party, has defined and will continue to define the political course of action in resolving all key problems of state life. Article 6 of the draft constitution especially emphasizes: "The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people." Our people are tied to the party with firm, unbreakable bonds; our people see it as their leader and teacher, and they support its domestic and foreign policies in every way.

Retaining its class character, the CPSU at the present stage has become the political vanguard of all the Soviet people, and it unites in its ranks the best representatives of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. The party harmoniously reconciles the interests of all classes and social groups, nations, and nationalities in our country. The party's political line, continuously being implemented, represents the collective will of party members, the concentrated experience of the masses, multiplied by the wisdom of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Confidently guiding the implementation of the economic and social program of development of our state, the party is doing everything to insure the continued rise in the country's economic potential, to enhance the nation's well being, the degree of maturity of socialist social relations, the spiritual flourishing of the society, the systematic development of democracy, progress, science, and culture, the communist indoctrination of the working people, and the formation of the new man.

The international working class and all progressive mankind see the CPSU as one of the most experienced and powerful detachments of the communist movement, linked to other fraternal parties by bonds of unshakeable faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism. Throughout the world, Lenin's Communist Party has proved itself to be a staunch and reliable warrior for peace, democracy, and socialism. (Applause).

The draft constitution's worthy presentation of the role of guidance played by the CPSU has received the fervent support and approval of the working people of Azerbaydzhan, like all the Soviet people. (Applause).

The draft of the new USSR Constitution fully reflects the basic directions of development of the political system of Soviet society--further elaboration of socialist democracy, genuine democracy for the working masses. It stipulates increasing broader participation of the working people in administering the affairs of society and the state, improvement of the state apparatus, increased involvement of social organizations, strengthened people's control,



stronger legal principles of state and social life, more openness, and constant taking account of public opinion.

The main thing which confirms and enhances the individual in a socialist society is honorable, conscientious labor, making full use of capabilities and talents. Labor, and only labor, defines the value of the individual in our society. And this generally acknowledged criterion will now be embodied in the form of constitutional stipulation.

In accordance with the communist ideal "The free development of each is the condition for the free development of all," our state sets as its goal that of expanding the genuine possibilities for the development and use by the citizen of his own creative powers, capabilities, and gifts, for the all-round development of the individual.

Only under conditions of a socialist society do citizens possess broad rights and opportunities, receive all kinds of various social benefits, make fuller use of the economic achievements of the society, the benefits and material and legal guarantees of the state.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution contains a long list of rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. In addition to proclaiming the general principles of equality among citizens, the draft constitution deepens, develops, and expands provisions governing the specific aspects of the legal status of the individual. Expansion of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens at the present stage is a dual process, organically incorporating the normative stipulation of new rights and freedoms and the continuous expansion of genuine content in rights already proclaimed, linked to further strengthening and development of the guarantees of their exercise.

The draft reflects the principles of individual freedom in the USSR, socialist humanitarianism, reconciliation of social and individual interests, the shared nature and equality of rights and duties. The draft encompasses in detail the main spheres of legal activities of a member of a socialist society as a citizen and as a human being, and it strengthens the system of constitutional rights and freedoms of the individual. It includes social-economic rights to work, to rest, material security in old age, the right to health care, and other political rights which create the necessary conditions for the citizen's participation in political life, in administering the affairs of society and the state, and also personal, individual rights to personal property, the inviolability of the individual and the home, the right to confidential correspondence, freedom of conscience, and others.

Many rights and freedoms and guarantees of them are formulated much more fully than formerly. The right to work is supplemented by the right, taking account of social needs, to choose one's profession, type of occupation, and job in accordance with inclinations, abilities, professional training, and education of the citizen.

Whereas the 1936 USSR Constitution speaks of the right to material security in the event of illness or the loss of the ability to work, now this aspect is treated more fully--Soviet citizens are guaranteed the right to health care. Whereas earlier the constitution spoke of the right to an education, now it incorporates provisions for universal obligatory secondary education, also the broad development of vocational-training and higher education.

Among the basic rights of citizens, embodied in the draft constitution for the first time, mention should be made of the right of citizens to housing, to making use of the achievements of culture, the freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic creativity, the right to make proposals, declarations, and criticisms.

The draft constitution formulates on a substantially broader plane the political rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. The right of every Soviet citizen to take part in administering state and social affairs, which has long been entrenched in our life, is constitutionally proclaimed, and specific forms of such participation are indicated. This right organically derives from the nature of Soviet authority. "New authority," wrote V. I. Lenin, "as the dictatorship of the vast majority, could be and was held exclusively through the trust of the vast masses, exclusively by the fact that it enlisted all the masses to participate in governing in the freest, broadest, and most powerful way."

Individual rights in the Soviet Union, the broad opportunities for taking advantage of the material, political, and spiritual benefits and gains of developed socialist society, characteristic of Soviet reality and reflected in the draft of the new constitution, in terms of their social value constitute the greatest achievement of mankind throughout its history. In contrast to the declared, paper, abstract bourgeois-democratic rights and freedoms, born under conditions of bitter class antagonism, the rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizen are guaranteed by the whole system of the Soviet state, all the might of the socialist homeland.

"It is essential that every Soviet citizen understand clearly," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "that the main guarantee of his rights in the long run is the power and prosperity of the homeland. And for this, every citizen must have a sense of his responsibility to society and conscientiously carry out his duties to the state, to the people." It is for this reason that the Soviet state, in conferring broad opportunities, rights, and freedoms on citizens, cannot be indifferent to those who, taking advantage of these rights and freedoms, undermine its foundation--the socialist social system. (Applause).

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin pointed out: "...it is impossible to live in society and be free of society." For this reason, rights and duties go hand in hand. They are now--there cannot be--rights without duties. "The exercise of rights and freedoms," the draft constitution states, "is inseparable from the citizen's execution of his duties."

The draft constitution emphasizes the citizen's duty to work honorably, to defend the homeland. Also acquiring the nature of a constitutional requirement is the citizen's duty to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, to promote maintenance of public order, to struggle against embezzlement and waste of social property, to safeguard the environment and protect its resources, to be concerned for safeguarding cultural values. The draft constitution also makes it obligatory to be concerned for the education of children, to raise them to be worthy members of socialist society.

The draft constitution accords a prominent place to aspects of the nationality-state structure of the Soviet Union. "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," Article 69 states, "is an integrated, unified multinational state, formed as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary union of equal Soviet socialist republics.

"The USSR embodies the state unity of the Soviet people, uniting all nations and nationalities for purposes of the joint building of communism."

The formation of the USSR is an outstanding event in the history of the Soviet state. The uniting of all peoples of the country into an integrated union, the creation of a unified, multinational socialist state, opened up unprecedented opportunities for the social, economic, and cultural development of our homeland. It constituted one of the crucial factors in the socialist restructuring of society, the upgrading of the economy and culture of all the Soviet republics, of all the nations and nationalities, a convincing victory of the CPSU's Leninist nationalities policy.

Major credit in the creation of the USSR goes to V. I. Lenin, who put forth and substantiated the idea of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on principles of voluntary union, equality, and sovereignty. V. I. Lenin worked out all the basic problems of the construction of a Soviet multinational state; he armed the party with a precise and systematic program with regard to the nationalities question and directly guided the building of this state through to the formation of the USSR.

"The half-century history of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," remarked Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "is a history of development of unshakeable unity and friendship among all peoples united within the framework of the Soviet socialist state. It is a history of unprecedented growth and comprehensive development of the state, born in socialist revolution and today one of the most powerful states in the world. It is a history of maturation and genuine flourishing--economic, political, and cultural--of all republics rallied around its banner, of all nations and nationalities inhabiting the country."

The nationality-state structure of the USSR has stood the test of time, has proved itself completely, and for this reason, the draft constitution embodies the existing principles and forms of national statehood. Our party, its Central Committee, and the Politburo of the Central Committee have focused and are continuing to focus special attention on continuously strengthening the multinational Soviet state. Reflecting the objective

process of rapprochement among nations and nationalities in our country, the draft constitution calls for strengthening the principles of state union in dialectical unity with the sovereign rights of every union republic.

This draft constitution, like the 1936 Constitution, points out that the sovereign rights of the union republics are protected by the USSR. The draft of the new constitution has a special chapter dealing respectively with the union republic, the autonomous republic, the autonomous oblast, and the autonomous okrug. The constitutional characterization of all forms of socialist national statehood and the definition of their general legal status serve to enhance the authority of the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs in resolving common tasks facing the Soviet state.

"In a general way, the draft constitution's resolution of questions of nationality-state structure," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, "insures genuine democratic reconciliation of the general interests of the multinational Union and the interests of each of the constituent republics; it provides for the comprehensive flourishing and continuous rapprochement of all nations and nationalities in our country." This also, with new force, reflects the great wisdom of the Leninist nationalities policy, and the party's boundless faithfulness to its unshakeable principles. (Loud applause).

Article 75 and Article 81 of the draft USSR Constitution stipulate that every union and autonomous republic are to have their own constitution. In accordance with this, we will have to draw up and adopt a new constitution for the Azerbaydzhan SSR. The CC CP Azerbaydzhan and the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet are today submitting a proposal for discussion by the session concerning the setting up of a commission to prepare a draft constitution for the Azerbaydzhan SSR, and its makeup. The draft which is prepared by the commission should be published in December 1977 through January of 1978 for nationwide discussion in the republic, and during the first quarter of next year it will be discussed at an extraordinary session of the Azerbaydzhan SSR Supreme Soviet. We will also have to do work on editing the Azerbaydzhan SSR State Hymn.

In accordance with the USSR Constitution and the Azerbaydzhan SSR Constitution, it will be necessary to draw up a draft constitution for the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The draft of the USSR Constitution infuses new meaning to the time-tested form of the exercising of people's power in our country--the Soviets of Deputies. Reflecting the national character of the Soviet state, the draft constitution calls for a new name--Soviets of Peoples Deputies.

Created by the revolutionary creativity of the masses, the soviets gave to the world a fundamentally new state system of organization of society, opening up a new era in the centuries-old history of development of statehood and democracy. The genius of Lenin's vision and his creative thinking

made it possible to envision in the soviets a prototype of new authority, exercising enormous influence on the entire course of the world revolutionary process.

Vladimir Il'ich Lenin defined the fundamental difference between the soviets and all other bodies of authority, and characterized them in an all encompassing way. "This is authority," wrote he, "which is opened to all, which does everything in full view of the masses, accessible to the masses, deriving directly from the masses, a direct and immediate agency of the masses of the people and the people's will." The draft of the Fundamental Law calls for further developing the democratic principles of formation and the activities of the soviets on all levels.

The soviets supervise all sectors of state, economic, and social-cultural development; they make decisions, see to their execution, and exercise control over their implementation. In speaking about the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that the adoption of the new constitution "opens up to the Supreme Soviet even greater opportunities to improving its activities."

This is fully applicable to the Supreme Soviet of our republic as well, its presidium, the permanent commissions, and deputies. The Supreme Soviet must focus continuous attention on the development of the republic's legislation, the resolving of questions relating to the situation in various sectors of the economy and culture, the fulfillment of national economy plans.

The Supreme Soviet of the republic must exercise more purposeful and profound control over administrative bodies. In this matter, exceptionally vital importance attaches to the permanent commissions. It is essential to activate the activities of the permanent commissions, to raise to a new level the execution of duties by the deputies in their election districts. All of this must serve to improve the work of the Supreme Soviet in all of its main directions.

The Soviet Constitution is a unique legal document, one which exercises the highest juridical power. The constitution is the law of everyone. All citizens, social organizations, and state bodies are obliged to obey the constitution, in letter and in spirit. They must continuously check their own work with the requirements and stipulations of the constitution. And the Azerbaydzhan Supreme Soviet and its presidium are responsible for exercising strict control over full compliance with the stipulations of the constitution. On the other hand, it is not only the competent state bodies but also--and this is no less important--party organizations that are responsible for making party member--directors of state and economic bodies--more strictly accountable for the execution of their own constitutional duties.

For the life of the country, remarked Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the adoption of the new constitution will be of exceptional importance. Implementation of its provisions should raise to a qualitatively new level all state and economic activities, all the work of bodies of authority and administration.

The adoption of the new constitution will make it possible for millions of Soviet people to take even more active part in administering the affairs of society and the state, to become more involved in checking on the work of the state apparatus, matters of strengthening legality and law and order.

Of fundamental importance are questions of the foreign policy of the Soviet state, incorporated for the first time in the draft constitution. This is dictated by the close interaction between domestic and foreign factors in our development, the vitally important significance of the foreign policy activities of our state to the Soviet people.

For this first time, the constitution will stipulate that our state, as a component part of the world socialist system, the socialist commonwealth, develops and strengthens friendship and cooperation, comradely mutual aid, with the countries of socialism on the basis of socialist internationalism; it takes active part in economic integration and international division of labor.

The draft of the Fundamental Law of our state precisely and clearly formulates the fundamental principles by which it is guided in carrying out its foreign policies. The Leninist peace policy directly derives from the socialist principles of the USSR's social and state structure. The principled and systematic course of action of the CPSU in the field of foreign policy was developed at the 25th CPSU Congress, which adopted a program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of nations.

"To remove the threat of war, to halt the arms race, to deepen and expand cooperation to benefit all states--these are the goals today, as always, of the initiatives of the Soviet Union in the international arena," declared Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, responding to questions from the Japanese newspaper ASAHI. "We intend to continue the policy of detente, striving to extend it to all regions of the globe."

The Soviet people have noted with satisfaction that the implementation of this broad program and the gigantic--in scale and practical results--foreign policy activities of the CC CPSU, the Politburo, and CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev are yielding rich fruit. (Loud applause). Under the influence of the foreign policies of the USSR and the other socialist countries, genuine possibilities have developed for preventing a new world war, and definite steps are being made in the field of halting the arms race; mutually beneficial cooperation among states having different social structures is becoming increasingly activated.

New and eloquent proof of this can be seen in the results of the official visit by CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to France. In discussing its results, the Politburo of the CC CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit and completely approved the activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. (Loud applause).

The working people of Azerbaydzhan, like all the Soviet people, see the results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's visit as one more convincing proof of the steady implementation of the Leninist foreign policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state, new confirmation of the fruitfulness and effectiveness of the course of action in international affairs formulated by the 24th and the 25th party congresses. (Applause).

"We are confident," said Leonid Il'ich in France, "that the adoption of the new constitution will be widely responded to on the international plane as well: for it records both the most important achievements of the Soviet people on the social plane, in the development of democracy, and the principles of our foreign policy--the struggle for world peace, security, and international cooperation, something which is understandable and dear to many people in all countries."

The draft of the new constitution is a political document which brilliantly reflects the gigantic achievements and social-economic transformations that have taken place in our country and in our society over the past 40 years. The depth and scope of these transformations astonish the imagination. The pace of them is unprecedented in world history; they testify to the powerful, vital force of Lenin's ideas, which are embodied in the practice of the building of communism in our country. (Applause).

New, brilliant confirmation of the genuine participations of the people in administering the affairs of our socialist society was seen in the elections to local Soviets of Workers Deputies, held on 19 June. The results of the elections demonstrated with new force the unity of the party and the people, the power and vitality of our socialist structure, the triumph of people's government. In our republic, as throughout the country, the elections took place in a well organized fashion, in an atmosphere of patriotic and labor upsurge, of high political involvement of the voters evoked by the preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, and the nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution.

In giving their votes to their best sons and daughters, the working people of Azerbaydzhan expressed unanimous approval for the wise domestic and foreign policies of the CPSU, the fruitful practical activities of the CC CPSU, the Politburo of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. (Applause).

During the election, at the voting places party and labor veterans and production leaders and young voters spoke excitedly about the great successes achieved in the development of the republic's national economy during the Ninth and Tenth five-year plans, about the rise in the material well being of the working people; they expressed their warm appreciation and affection for their own dear CPSU. (Applause).

In all, 99.99 percent of the voters took part in the election in the republic. Some 99.97 percent of the voters voted for candidates to be deputies of local soviets.

Corresponding to changes in the social structure of society, changes have also taken place in the social makeup of the newly-elected deputies. For example, whereas in the first elections to local soviets in this republic, held in 1939, workers made up 6.9 percent and kolkhoz members made up 61.4 percent of all the deputies, in the recent elections 18,019 out of 48,914 elected deputies--36.8 percent--were representatives of the working class; 14,042 deputies--28.7 percent--were kolkhoz members. Among the deputies 45.1 percent are members or candidates to membership in the CPSU; 46.5 percent are women; 30.1 percent are young people age 30 or less. More than half of the deputies were elected for the first time.

The soviets include leading workers, famous kolkhoz members, specialists in various sectors of the national economy, physicians and teachers, scientists, literary and art figures, party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers, and representatives of the armed forces. This constitutes a reliable guarantee of constant and firm ties between the soviets and the masses, with whose help and participation they can efficiently, routinely resolve the tasks that face them.

Constituting a specific program of actions for the soviets on all levels at the present stage is Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the meeting of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 17 June. "The CPSU," said Leonid Il'ich, "has always proceeded on the basis that every one of our soviets forms a part of supreme authority, that it not only possesses the powers of resolving all aspects relating to its jurisdiction but also serves as a vehicle of national decisions. This is an exceptionally vital principle. Such unity between higher and local bodies, this basing of supreme authority on local initiative, reflects the basic essence of the soviets--their indisoluble link to the masses of people." And now, under conditions of developed socialism, Leonid Il'ich emphasized further, the work of the soviets must incorporate even more fully the struggle to improve production effectiveness, to implement the party's broad social program, to develop all aspects of our socialist democracy--that is, to resolve the tasks of the building of communism.

And now the newly-elected oblast, city, rayon, rural, and settlement soviets in the republic must insure the practical implementation of the directives of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.



The soviet constitutes the highest body of state authority within its jurisdiction, and it must be a superb, impeccable leader. It has the duty to link and be concerned about everything, to do everything necessary so that the people can live, work, and rest better.

There is also much that the soviets can do in the sphere of material production, to accomplish the party's assigned tasks in improving its effectiveness--especially resolving a large complex of questions relating to stepping up the pace of scientific-technical progress and boosting labor productivity and improving product quality.

We expect of the soviets that they will take more active part in campaigns to fulfill plans and socialist obligations during the jubilee year and the five-year plan as a whole, in accomplishing the ambitious tasks assigned to the republic by the familiar decrees of the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the development of a number of industrial sectors and intensifying agricultural production in Azerbaydzhan.

The soviets are accorded broad rights. And they must exercise them correctly, competently, and with maximum effectiveness. Thus, for example, the soviets are given broad rights in coordinating the activities of all enterprises, institutions, and organizations within their jurisdictions, regardless of the affiliation of these enterprises. Exercising this right, they can do a great deal to develop the production of consumer goods on the basis of local raw materials and supplies, disseminating the experience of local leading enterprises so that all collectives can be raised to their level. It is the duty of the soviets to campaign without compromise against mismanagement and waste, against violations of state and labor discipline.

Soviets in rural rayons must not confine themselves to current agricultural efforts; they must be deeply involved in production, look to the future, so that the development of all sectors of land cultivation and livestock farming proceed in accordance with current standards and conditions, on a high level of agronomy and livestock science.

Also essential is the role and responsibility of the soviets in organizing efforts in the sphere of consumer services. These aspects must be constantly at the focus of their attention. This refers not only to control, which, of course, must be strictly exercised every day, but also the rendering of genuine help in organizing exemplary trading, public catering, consumer services for the working people, the operation of urban transport, and communal service enterprises.

At present, when many thousands of city-dwellers are heading for the sea shore, lakes, and forests on their days off, the soviets will have to show special concern for creating the most favorable possible conditions in all recreation zones--excellent organization of public catering, timely and uninterrupted supplies of cooling beverages, vegetables, fruits, and so on.

The soviets must focus constant attention on further developing the network of medical facilities, schools, libraries, houses of culture, and clubs, and improving their operation. Substantial tasks face the soviets in the field of building up our cities and villages, the grounds of enterprises, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes. Our task is to transform every population center into a city or village of highly-productive labor, high culture, and exemplary social order.

All of the work of the soviets with regard to propagandizing and explaining the draft of the USSR Constitution must relate to resolving these specific economic-political tasks. All measures involved in the discussion of the draft USSR Constitution, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, and the decisions of the plenum, must be carried out on a high ideological-political and organizational level. It is the duty of the soviets to record, summarize, and promptly submit to higher-level bodies the proposals and remarks that are introduced during the course of discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution.

It is essential to strengthen all the organizational-mass work of the soviets, to insure constant compliance with constitutional norms, to further develop and perfect democratic principles and the activities of soviet bodies, to upgrade the significance of the sessions, and to be more reliant on the permanent commissions in practical work. The soviets must stand guard over socialist legality; they must not allow any deviations from its standards, they must comprehensively promote improvements in the work of administrative bodies, and they must wage uncompromising battle against those who disrupt soviet law and order, against those who are antagonistic to communist morals.

In accomplishing the tasks facing the soviets and carrying out the mandates of the voters, active part must be taken by the almost 50,000-man army of deputies, the people's empowered representatives.

As has been mentioned earlier, almost 25,000 elected deputies were not part of the makeup of the soviets of the preceding convocation. For this reason, it is essential from the very first to provide them with practical aid in carrying out their honorable and responsible duties, to see that they show initiative in their deputy activities and in strengthening ties with the masses.

During the course of preparations for the elections, in workers' meetings many wishes and critical remarks were addressed to the executive committees of local soviets, a number of ministries, and departments. It is essential to review all remarks and requests, to take steps to eliminate shortcomings in cultural and amenity services to the public. The soviets, their deputies, and active members must play a vital role in mobilizing the working people to successfully implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress; they must help in every way to publicize patriotic initiatives by leaders in socialist competition, to endeavor to boost production effectiveness, to improve the quality of all our efforts.

Comrade deputies! At the meeting of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized: . "Now, when all of our people are heading to meet the 60th anniversary of Great October, when the draft of the country's new Fundamental Law is being discussed everywhere, an especially great influence is exerted by the active and creative participation of the Soviet people in implementing the plans mapped out by our Leninist party, in the building of communism." This is brilliantly evidenced by reports of labor triumphs that are coming in every day from all corners of the Soviet Union, the successful work results achieved by the workers of Azerbaydzhan in the first half year.

The republic's industry fulfilled the half-year's plan ahead of schedule--on 28 June--with regard to the sale of industrial goods and the production of the most important types of goods. Goods worth 78 million rubles were sold over and above the plan. Compared with the corresponding period last year, the volume of industrial production rose by nine percent as against seven percent stipulated by target. The overwhelming majority of the ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises completed the plan.

Fulfilling the half-year's plan ahead of schedule is a great accomplishment. Allow me in your name, comrade deputies, to heartily congratulate the working class, all workers in the republic's industry on their success, and to express confidence that they will also work in a highly productive way during the second half and will achieve new labor victories. (Loud applause).

Labor productivity in industry rose by 5.6 percent as against a target of 4.9 percent. The Nonferrous Metallurgy Association, the Sumgait Superphosphate Plant, 15 machine building enterprises, the Shchekino Silk Production Association, the Baku Biscuit Mill, and some others fulfilled socialist obligations ahead of schedule with respect to supplementary sales of goods, as adopted in honor of the 60th anniversary of Great October. Dozens of enterprises, 860 crews, shops, and sections, and more than 4,800 production leaders have already completed the five-year plan's two-year target.

At the same time, the results of the half year show that the republic's industry also possesses substantial possibilities for further vigorous growth. It is sufficient to point out that 55 production associations and enterprises failed to complete production plans, 146 enterprises failed to meet the increased labor productivity target. All is not well here, by any means, with regard to the fulfillment of plans in terms of products list, work time utilization, and the assimilation and effective utilization of production facilities, especially in sectors producing consumer goods.

As everyone knows, during the second half the amount of work done by sectors engaged in processing agricultural raw materials will increase. Nevertheless, in many enterprises of these sectors the pace of preparation efforts is too slow; they are not getting all the needed materials and equipment. Warehouses for storing farm products, primary wine making plants, and other projects are not being built fast enough. Managers of the ministries of light and food industry and the State Committee on Viticulture and Wine

making must take urgent steps to promptly and efficiently prepare cotton mills, tobacco-fermentation and oil-and-fats enterprises, primary wine making plants, and all procurement networks for the upcoming season.

In order to insure successful fulfillment of plans of the second year of the five-year plan by all sectors of industry, party and soviet bodies, managers of ministries, departments, and enterprises must draw up and implement specific measures aimed at speeding up the commissioning and full loading of all existing facilities or those to be put into operation, increasing the equipment shift index, improving the quality of the products turned out, strengthening technological discipline, and speeding up the adoption of the achievements of scientific-technical progress.

The main task facing industrial workers of the republic is to consolidate and multiply the successes achieved during the first half year, to insure at least a 9 percent increase in production for the year as a whole, to insure fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans and socialist obligations by every enterprise. Achieving this goal will require making the maximum use of all reserves, striving to further increase production effectiveness and improve work quality on all levels of the national economy.

Comrade deputies! The crucial stage of the campaign for a bumper crop, for fulfilling socialist obligations has arrived on the fields and farm sections of the republic.

Despite the fact that this year was a very difficult one in terms of weather conditions, agricultural operations as a whole have laid a good foundation for good farm crop yields and increased livestock productivity.

Completion of socialist obligations has already been reported by the silk growers, who have delivered about 5,000 tons of cocoons to the procurement centers. The republic has never before produced such a quantity of cocoons.

By 7 July the harvesting of grain crops was completed on an area of 422,000 hectares, more than 782,000 tons of grain were threshed, and 195,000 tons were poured into the country's granaries. All of these indicators are much higher than as of the same date last year. The procurement of vegetables is successfully underway. The national economy plan of deliveries of vegetables into the all union stockpile was fulfilled by 23 June; and vegetable quality was improved. As of 7 July, 320,000 tons of vegetables had been procured, including 280,000 tons delivered to state stockpiles. The pace of procurement of tea leaves and fruits is substantially faster than last year, and tobacco picking is proceeding more intensively.

Substantial successes are being achieved by the livestock farmers; half-year plans and socialist obligations have been overfulfilled with respect to sales of all types of livestock products to the state. The average milk yield on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, compared with last year, has risen by 69 kg. Excellent indicators have been achieved in Belokanskiy, Masallinskiy, Lenkoranskiy, Khachmasskiy, Lachinskiy, Kyurdamirskiy, Shemakhinskiy,

Kubinskiy, and Ismaillinskiy rayons, where milk yields have risen by 110 to 160 kg. Considerably more young cattle of higher weight standards have been delivered than last year. The livestock and poultry population of all types has increased.

What has been achieved, of course, evokes a sense of satisfaction, but it gives no grounds for complacency. The main struggle for the end results of the agricultural year lies ahead.

The priority task now is to substantially step up the pace of grain crop harvesting and to complete it in all basic areas not later than the second ten days of July. The task assigned--that of producing a record quantity of grain--must be unconditionally accomplished. Now, increased attention must be focused on problems of promptly cleaning and stockpiling high-quality seed stocks to form the basis of the future harvest.

The cotton farmers face considerable work. Resolution of the assigned task--producing and selling to the state a record quantity of cotton in the jubilee year--requires the maximum mobilization of existing reserves and capabilities, increasing the responsibility of every manager, every cotton farmers for his assigned job.

Special attention must be focused on comprehensively increasing meat production. And yet, most of the rayons are not working fast enough to restructure their operations in this regard; procurement centers are continuing to receive livestock below liveweight and fat standards.

Constant attention must be focused on problems related to increasing the number of breeding females in the socially-owned herd and efforts to eliminate livestock barrenness. Every rayon and farm must have a precise plan of practical action in this regard.

Conditions this year make it imperative to make special efforts to increase the production and procurement of feeds. Despite the fact that feed procurement is running somewhat ahead of the plan, most kolkhozes and sovkhoses are not sufficiently involved in feed production problems; they have not properly organized the maintenance of corn and root feed crops; they are not working fast enough in laying up silage and procuring grass meal.

This year, a vast program of capital construction is underway. During the first half alone, 592 million rubles of capital investments were spent to develop the republic's national economy; 312 million rubles of construction installation work were completed; fixed assets worth 290 million rubles were put into operation. Also put into operation were fiberglass production facilities in Mingechaur, an enterprise manufacturing reinforced-concrete stakes for grape espaliers in Duvanny, the Apsheron Reproduction Farm in Kobi accommodating 50,000 laying hens, primary wine making plants in Dzhalilabadskiy and Zhdanovskiy rayons, three mineral fertilizer warehouses with a total capacity of 30,000 tons in Udzharskiy, Yevlakhskiy, Mir-Bashirskiy

rayons and other projects; and construction-installation work was completed in the building of a large aluminum oxide facility at the Kirovabad aluminum plant.

The half-year construction-installation plan was completed by Glavazmeliovodstroy [Main Azerbaydzhan Administration for the Construction of Land Reclamation and Water Resources Facilities], Azenergostroy [Azerbaydzhan Power Construction], Azerbaydhantransstroy [Azerbaydzhan Transport Construction], Kaspmorneft' [Caspian Sea Petroleum Association], and others.

On the whole, however, the status of capital construction continues to be a cause for serious alarm. Since the beginning of the year, construction-installation work worth 39 million rubles failed to be completed; fixed assets worth more than 154 million rubles were not put into operation. The situation is especially bad with regard to these most important indicators in the Bakgorispolkom [Baku City Executive Committee], the Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Food Industry, the ministries of procurements, education, and public consumer services, Azglavenergo [Azerbaydzhan Main Administration of Power and Electrification], Azplodoovoshchprom [Azerbaydzhan Fruit and Vegetable Industry], and Azerbaydzhan Sel'khoztekhnika.

Still lagging in the fulfillment of contract work plans are the Ministry of Industrial Construction, the Ministry of Agriculture, Glavbakstroy [Main Baku Construction Administration], Glavazmontazhspestroy [Main Azerbaydzhan Administration for Installation and Special Construction Work], Baktonnel'stroy [Baku Tunnel Construction], and Azsel'khozvodoprovodstroy [Azerbaydzhan Agricultural Water Pipeline Construction], most of whose primary subdivisions are not doing satisfactory work. Construction is proceeding at a slow pace on a number of vital, priority projects of the national economy. Work is not yet adequately underway on a number of projects of the light and food sectors of industry stipulated by the socialist obligations of the republic's construction project and enterprise collectives. Construction is proceeding too slowly on agricultural projects. Cause for special concern is the status of construction of livestock complexes, mineral fertilizer warehouses, rural water lines, and land reclamation and water resource projects.

It must be acknowledged once more unfortunately, that we have not yet achieved the necessary breakthrough in the construction of housing and public culture and consumer service facilities. As regards the half-year plan, 115,000 square meters of housing, schools to accommodate more than 6,000 pupils, and a number of other facilities have not been completed.

In connection with this, it is necessary to point out that problems of construction--especially housing and cultural-amenity facilities--have not yet become an object of daily concern on the part of local soviets, who should provide substantial aid in providing construction projects with manpower and construction workers with appropriate cultural and service

facilities; they should check on aspects of the rational utilization of materials, equipment, and so on.

The main reason for the shortcomings in capital construction is the fact that, despite repeated warnings, the main contract organizations and most of the ministries and client departments have not yet restructured the organization of capital construction; they have not been concerned with the precise and smooth operation of their subdivisions. This is especially intolerable in view of the fact that further development of the republic's national economy, renovation of fixed assets, and improved material well-being for the working people are directly dependent on the successful fulfillment of capital construction plans.

Allow me to dwell briefly on some aspects of supplying the population. As you know, the CC CP Azerbaydzhan gives high priority to this problem. Measures that have been adopted in the republic have assured a stable supply of basic foodstuffs. From year to year, the trade turnover in state and cooperative trading and public catering is rising. The half-year's plan in retail trade turnover this year has been fulfilled and overfulfilled ahead of schedule. Compared with the same period last year, it has risen by 4.5 percent. The sale of meat, butter and other dairy products, sugar, pastry items, and vegetables to the public has risen; sales of these products rose by 75 percent; fruit sales rose by more than 2.2 times, and so on.

During the second half, the supplying of vegetables to the trade network should rise substantially--the season of incoming fruits, grapes, and melon crops will soon begin. A bumper crop has been raised in the fields, orchards, and vineyards of the republic; they must be made fully available to the working people through the trade network and industrial processing. Accomplishment of this task will require above all improving the work of the Ministry of Trade and Azerittifak, which will have to establish firm business ties with suppliers, demand that they strictly carry out their obligations, and at the same time assure uninterrupted receiving and sales of products.

It is no less important to take decisive steps to prevent and halt the illegal marketing and misappropriation of fruits and vegetables and speculation with them by second-hand dealers and other unsavory elements. Let us remind you once more of the necessity of assuring exemplary procedures in every store, in every market, throughout the trading system. It is also necessary to see to it that as many vegetables, grapes, and fruits are sold directly in the enterprises so that there will be enough of them for workers' cafeterias.

Comrade deputies! Party, soviet, and social organizations of the republic have undertaken considerable efforts in propagandizing and interpreting the decisions of the May plenum of the CC CPSU, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the plenum, and the draft of the new USSR Constitution. These efforts are being participated in by tens of thousands of propagandists, political

information specialists, and agitators. Using a wide variety of forms and media, they are striving to bring to the consciousness of every worker the provisions and conclusions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech, the content and importance of the draft of our country's Fundamental Law, which reflects the great gains of the Soviet people and the path they have traveled under the guidance of Lenin's party.

In the elaboration of efforts involved in explaining and studying the materials of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and the draft of the new USSR Constitution, considerable aid has been provided to party committees by the propaganda group of the CC CPSU. With its participation, zonal seminars of active ideological workers have been held in Baku, Nakhichevan', Stepanakert, and a number of other cities and rayon centers. The tasks of the mass media were the topic at an interrepublic seminar of workers of the press held in Baku. The propaganda groups of the republic's party committees are giving lectures and reports at enterprises and on kolkhozes; they are holding consultations in political education houses and offices.

But we view what has been done only as the beginning of the enormous efforts that remain to be done by our ideological cadres. The main thing is to see to it that agitation-propaganda measures reach all segments of the population, that they are conducted in differentiated fashion, taking account of the requirements of the audience, that they tie in with the specific jobs and tasks of the labor collectives. Nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution and all our agitation-propaganda efforts must be conducted in organic unity with preparations for the 60th anniversary of Great October.

It is essential that in the work on organizing the discussion of the Fundamental Law and its interpretation active part be taken by party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic workers, and scientific and cultural figures, who can give well-argued responses to questions posed by working people both with regard to the content of the constitution and with regard to the practical work of the soviets, economic bodies, and consumer service spheres. In ideological work, it is wrong to evade sharp questions. It is essential to speak openly about our shortcomings and existing difficulties, at the same time pointing out ways to overcome them.

During the recent election campaign substantial experience was accumulated in political work at the people's place of residence. Now, full use should be made of this experience. It is essential everywhere to retain the agitation centers that were set up at the voting places. The agitation centers should organize efforts to discuss and explain the draft of the USSR Constitution. Our best propagandists should be assigned to them; rayon leaders, institution and organization managers, and soviet deputies should speak there.



In efforts to propagandize and discuss the draft of the USSR Constitution, a special role is played by the mass information and propaganda media. Our press, television, and radio got actively involved in these efforts immediately after the draft constitution was published. The newspapers and television and radio broadcasts are devoting considerable space to depicting the course of nationwide discussion of the draft constitution, to letters from working people containing specific proposals and remarks. But it must be said that so far the capabilities of the mass information media are by no means being fully utilized.

Every newspaper issue should contain news items relating to discussion of the draft constitution; every day such materials should be broadcast over television and radio. The press, television, and radio must become a mass tribune for discussion of the draft of our country's Fundamental Law. This will require focusing special attention on the content of the published materials. They must be specific, businesslike, convincing; they must clearly reflect the profound involvement of the Soviet people in state affairs, their involvement in discussing the draft constitution. As was emphasized at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, the Soviet press must have a respectful, attentive attitude toward the voice of the working people, toward every businesslike proposal and critical comment. It is essential to regularly inform readers as to what steps are being taken by party, soviet, and economic bodies with regard to specific proposals and comments aimed at eliminating shortcomings and improving all efforts.

In interpreting the draft of the USSR Constitution and clearly demonstrating our socialist way of life, the press, television, and radio must firmly defend our convictions and principles in well-argued fashion as they relate to the struggle against bourgeois propaganda and its henchmen.

Competently organized nationwide discussion and propagandizing of the draft of the USSR Constitution will help to further activate all social-political life, to successfully carry out the tasks assigned to the republic by the 25th CPSU Congress, the socialist obligations of the jubilee year and the Tenth Five-Year Plan as a whole.

Allow me, comrade deputies, in the name of all of you, in the name of all the working people of Azerbaydzhan, to assure the CC CPSU, the Politburo, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Soviet government, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally that the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia of the republic, inspired by the decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and the draft of the new USSR Constitution, will bend every effort, exercise all their skills and creative energy in order to provide an honorable greeting to the 60th anniversary of Great October; they will make a worthy contribution to the cause of the building of communism. (Loud, prolonged applause).

## RASHIDOV REPORT TO UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Jun 77 p 3 LD

[Apparent text of speech of Sh. R. Rashidov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee, at the fourth session of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet: "On the USSR Draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) and the Tasks of the Soviets Arising From the Decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) Plenum and the Report by Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies:

Every year of our vigorous life, which is filled with the enthusiasm of the heroic creative labor of the party and people, inscribes golden pages in the glorious history of the Soviet state and the history of the entire world revolutionary process. The facets of every year of our vigorous life sparkle and are significant for their unique events. This year--the year of the 60th anniversary of Great October and the year of the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution--is particularly rich in them. These outstanding events mark a new important stage in the development of the party and state.

The recent CPSU Central Committee May plenum, the report by Comrade Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Constitutional Commission, on the draft of the new USSR Constitution, the session--just concluded--of the country's supreme organ of state power and the election of Comrade Brezhnev chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium are events of great party-wide and statewide importance.

The profound meaning and significance of these events demonstrate the increasingly growing role of the Communist Party, the further development and consolidation of the socialist state and the indestructible unity, monolithic nature and solidarity of party and people, who are confidently and steadily following the course elaborated by the 25th CPSU Congress.

Communists and all working people of Uzbekistan wholly and entirely support and approve the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee May plenum. Workers, kolkhoz members and the people's intelligentsia, like all Soviet people, wholeheartedly and unanimously welcome the election of Comrade Brezhnev head of state. The need to combine in one person the functions of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is dictated by life itself and arises both from the actual status of our party--which is the ruling party and the guiding and directing force of Soviet society--and from the outstanding personal qualities and selfless work of L. I. Brezhnev for the welfare of the motherland. This high state enactment expresses the will and interests of the entire Soviet people.

Allow me, in your behalf and in behalf of all the working people of Soviet Uzbekistan, to wish Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev sound health and the same optimism, inexhaustible energy and strength of will in his tireless and selfless struggle for the people's happiness and peace and social progress in the world. We are profoundly confident that Leonid Il'ich will continue as before to represent our party, state and heroic people both inside the country and in the international arena with great dignity and in Leninist fashion.

The need to create a new constitution, the nature of the changes introduced in its content, and the main features of its content, as well as the significance of the new fundamental law, both for domestic and international life, are extremely clearly, precisely and convincingly formulated in the short but very capacious and profoundly thoughtful report by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev which has been published in the press, and with which you are familiar.

Therefore, allow me to dwell briefly on how the working people of the republic welcome and evaluate the draft fundamental law and on what specific tasks for the soviets arise from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May plenum, the report by Comrade Brezhnev, and the draft of the new constitution.

First and foremost it must be emphasized that the new USSR Constitution, whose draft has been submitted for nationwide discussion, will serve to further raise the role of our party and state, and will be a new stimulus for activating the entire sociopolitical life of the country.

It is apparent from numerous responses, letters and expressions that the Soviet people and all progressive mankind have formed the very highest estimate of this extremely important political document--a document which shows in concentrated form the basic achievements of Great October and the heroic path traveled by our people, and which generalizes and sets out the great achievements of the country of victorious socialism.

In the course of the broad discussion under way on the draft constitution the working people of the republic note with profound satisfaction the greatness of our socioeconomic transformations in the 40 years since the adoption of the current constitution.

In studying and interpreting the provisions of the new constitution, each person involuntarily surveys the enormous path which our country has traveled, and his heart fills with a sense of joy and pride in our great party, our multinational state and our heroic people who are paving the way toward the bright future--communism.

The USSR has built a developed and mature socialist society. Fundamental changes have affected all aspects of the country's social life and economy. Today, socialist ownership rules completely in the country. A unified, powerful national economic organism, which is developing on the basis of the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system, has been formed and is functioning successfully.

The social aspect of Soviet society has also changed. The indestructible alliance of working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia has become even more consolidated. We have equality of nations not only in law but also in fact. All Soviet republics have now achieved a high level of development. This is also graphically evident in the example of Uzbekistan, whose working people in the friendly, fraternal family of Soviet peoples have achieved outstanding successes in all sectors of economic and cultural building. In 40 years our total volume of industrial output has increased 18 times, and cotton production has grown from 1 million tons to over 5 million tons. The economy of the republic is an integral part of the unified national economic complex of the country. It is based on socialist industry, highly developed agriculture and advanced science and culture.

With the building of mature socialism, and the transition of all strata of society to the ideological and political position of the working class, the Soviet state, which arose as the dictatorship of the proletariat, has developed into the state of the whole people. The nations and nationalities of the great land of the Soviets are drawing together even more closely. All strata of the population, and the representatives of all nations and nationalities are proud that a new historic community of people--the Soviet people--has formed among us.

There has also been a fundamental change in the international position of the Soviet Union and the entire sociopolitical face of the world. The capitalist encirclement of our motherland has been done away with. Socialism has been transformed into a world system. The mighty socialist community has been formed. Dozens of sovereign states have appeared in place of former colonies. Thanks to this, there now exists a real possibility of averting a new world war. In order for this process to take on an irreversible quality, the party will continue to wage an active and consistent struggle, and a humane and just struggle for peace throughout the world.

There is heartfelt support everywhere for the fact that a special article of the draft gives a comprehensive description of the leading and directing role of the CPSU. In this context, it is stressed with great satisfaction that the guiding role of the party--which exists for the people and serves the people--is the true guarantee of the successful implementation of all the plans and noble tasks of building communism.

People say with particular pride that the draft is imbued with Leninist ideas and profound party concern for the further prosperity of the Soviet multinational state, and steady improvement in the life of our people.

It is impossible not to see that the idea of the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy runs through the entire draft. It gives further development to the democratic principles of the formation and activities of the soviets, and defines the main ways of strengthening their ties with the masses. The draft widely reflects the important role which trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperative and other mass public organizations and working people's collectives play in the life of the country.

The new constitution fully reveals the humanitarian nature of the Soviet state, and confirms the ideals about which the best human minds have dreamed, and for which progressive people of the planet have struggled for centuries and are continuing to struggle now.

It can be confidently said right now that the draft constitution is gaining nationwide and boundless support because each section, each article and each line of this document accords with the fundamental interests of working people and reflects their thoughts and aspirations.

Confirming the socialist way of life and our democracy, it guarantees real equality for citizens and genuine rights for them. And the main right is the right to a free, happy and joyful life, and to the comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual. In fact, comrades, our people are not oppressed by the anxiety--which is demeaning to man's dignity--that they might be left without work, without education, without accommodation, or without care in old age or sickness, or that they might find themselves washed up in life. But this happens quite often in the countries where capital rules.

The Soviet people are well aware--and this is stressed with new force in the draft constitution--that our party and state are applying enormous efforts for a constant and steady rise in the living standards and culture of the people, and that the constitution protects their honor and dignity, and guarantees inviolability of the individual, property and the home, and the protection of health. All the conditions have been created here for active participation by citizens in running the state and in all public affairs.

At the same time, we understand very well that the exercise of the great rights guaranteed by the constitution and the prospering of our state are only possible on condition that each citizen not only is well aware of his rights, but also conscientiously carries out his responsibilities and his duty for the people. Rights and freedoms must not be used to the prejudice of the state, or to the prejudice of other people. They are called upon to serve the interests of the working masses and the goals and tasks of strengthening the socialist system.

It is necessary to explain widely that the fundamental law of the socialist state does not grant freedoms and rights to scroungers, idlers or violators of public order, much less the so-called "dissidents"--the wretched handful of turncoats who have cut themselves off from the motherland and, failing to find support inside the country, are seeking it among reactionary imperialist circles.

The Soviet people consider it not only their right, but also their sacred duty to protect their honor, freedom and dignity from attacks by traitors of the motherland and agents and hirelings of imperialism.

In the course of the discussion, there has everywhere been profound understanding of and complete support for the important provision written in the draft that the real rights and freedoms of man must be combined with civic responsibility and must not be used against the socialist social system or to the prejudice of the interests of the Soviet people.

The draft fundamental law insures the right of freedom to the absolute majority of Soviet citizens, to the selfless builders of communism, to people profoundly devoted to our bright ideals, our motherland and our people, and to honest and conscientious working people. This is the essence and meaning of the life of the Soviet person. It is precisely this which brings the joy of inspired creation and provides the sensation of genuine happiness in socially useful work, and in loyal and selfless service of his people.

In a word, comrades, the entire draft is imbued with revolutionary humanism and paternal concern for man. It is precisely this which the working people of Uzbekistan, like the entire country, see as the profound meaning and significance of the new constitution--the constitution of developed socialism and of communism under construction.

Constitutions of all the union and autonomous republics will be drawn up and confirmed on its basis. Today we are to form a special commission from among the deputies and, without wasting time, to embark on work to create the draft of the new Uzbek constitution, while the Karakalpakskaya Supreme Soviet is to prepare and adopt the constitution of the autonomous republic.

The main and paramount task now is to invest the discussion which has started on the constitution with the widest possible and truly nationwide scope. This work must be organized for the discussion to be of a businesslike and free nature, and for each person to be profoundly aware of the essence and significance of the new law. In this context it is important to publicize by argument, intelligibly and using specific instances and examples, the achievements of the Soviet people, to reveal the guiding role of the party in building developed socialism, and graphically to show its concern for steadily raising the material and cultural living standards of working people.

It is necessary to explain profoundly the humane nature of the Soviet state and all the advantages of our way of life and of socialist democracy which guarantees the real freedoms and equality of citizens. At the same time, it is necessary to expose the falsity of bourgeois democracies and their constitutions persuasively and with conviction.

Soviet organs must take an active part in a thorough study and generalization of the observations and proposals which are now being received from working people. It is important to examine them attentively, react to criticism in a party fashion, and take immediate steps to eliminate shortcomings in the work of state and public organs.

The discussion must be accompanied by an increase in the labor and political activeness of working people, and by the even greater scope and efficiency of the socialist competition to fulfill the five-year plans ahead of schedule, and to give a fitting welcome to the 60th anniversary of Great October.

In this connection, the Communist Party of Uzbekistan [CPUZ] Central Committee considers it necessary to report to Supreme Soviet deputies on how the plans and high socialist pledges adopted this jubilee year are being fulfilled.

The 5-month plan for the sale of industrial output, and the manufacture of the majority of the most important kinds of goods has been met ahead of schedule. Above-plan output worth R154 million has been sold. Some 72 percent of the increase in production volume is due to increased labor productivity.

Enterprises of the Ministries of Geology and Cotton Cleaning, Light and Local industries, the "Sredazugol," "Soyuzmashkhlop-Kovodstvo," and "Uzbektekstil'mash" associations and the Aviation Production Association are working steadily. Enterprise collectives in Andizhanskaya, Syrdarinskaya, Kashkadarinskaya, and Surkhandarinskaya oblasts are coping successfully with the plans and pledges.

At the same time, not all enterprises in the republic are working so harmoniously and rhythmically. Industry in a number of cities and rayons has not coped with the fulfillment of the pledges adopted and is permitting lags to occur.

Before any time is lost, party committees, all soviets of working peoples deputies and economic organs must take urgent steps for everybody to work according to the method of the people of Rostov and Yangiyul--without laggards.

Farmers and stockmen in the republic are working selflessly in complex weather conditions. The extremely arid spring this year has inflicted great losses on grain crops in nonirrigated areas, and on pasture lands, and has necessitated supplementary irrigation for the formation of cotton shoots. And recently, when the need for precipitation was past, in a number of places there were downpours of rain which caused heavy, destructive mud runnels.

Overcoming these whims of nature through heroic labor, rich experience and great skill, the working people in fields and farmsteads are full of determination and are doing everything possible to mark the jubilee year with record indicators. Cotton growers are still faced with many difficulties in the struggle for 5.35 million tons of cotton. The dry year and the changeable weather demand particularly careful tending of crops and the

obtaining of an early harvest so that 70 percent of it can be harvested by machine. Nevertheless, in a number of rayons, kolkhozes and sovkhoses the quality of cultivation and irrigation and the application of mineral and organic fertilizers do not accord with the agrotechnical requirements for obtaining a large harvest.

In certain oblasts and rayons, preparation for the machine harvesting of cotton has still not really been developed.

Grain growers have entered the most crucial time of the harvest. It is necessary to accelerate the pace of the harvesting and delivery of grain to the state. It is necessary to compensate for the grain shortfall in nonirrigated areas by obtaining high cereal, corn and rice yields in irrigated areas. Every kolkhoz, sovkhos and rayon must fulfill its adopted pledges without any allowance for the drought.

It is necessary everywhere to accelerate the gathering in of a high vegetable and fruit harvest, to prevent losses of them, to carry out procurement more rapidly, to organize their sale to the population in exemplary fashion, and to dispatch as much fruit and vegetable produce as possible to Moscow, Leningrad and other industrial centers of the country. It is the direct duty of local soviets to participate actively in solving this task.

As a result of the implementation of a whole system of measures in the republic, livestock and poultry productivity is increasing yearly and the rate of meat, milk and egg production is rising. Suffice it to say that this year alone meat purchases will increase by 30,000 tons, milk purchases by 100,000 tons and egg purchase by 90 million units. But despite this, the problem of supplying the population with livestock-raising produce--particularly meat and meat products--remains acute. And so the CPUZ Central Committee, and the republic's government are taking resolute measures to sharply increase production of these foodstuff products.

With a view to this, along with an increase in the numbers of cows and sheep, and a rise in their productivity, work has now been launched to build up the capacities of 18 broiler poultry farms. This year and next year, eight large interkolkhoz broiler factories, and more than 700 lightweight-type poultry houses of kolkhozes and sovkhoses will be constructed by the high-speed method.

Social production, which must be developed in every possible way, is certainly the basis for increasing commodity foodstuffs resources. At the same time, wider use must also be made of the potential of the private plots of kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers.

However, in the last few years, many rural working people have begun to curtail their private plot farming--as a result of which the number of cows and birds belonging to kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers has been reduced sharply. The ispolkoms of rayon, settlement, kishlak and aul Soviets must gradually and reasonably rectify this abnormal situation, and assist country dwellers in every possible way to maintain livestock and poultry on their private plots.



Success in meeting the high pledges for the production and sale to the state of cotton, grain, fruit and vegetables, and the provision of fodder for livestock under the conditions of the severe water shortage will depend to a large extent on the rational use of every liter of irrigation water. Local soviets must establish strict control over the observance of water discipline.

Comrades! The further development of industry, agriculture, the people's education, public health, trade and public catering--in short, the solution of all the tasks of improving working people's well-being--depends to a large extent on the rate of capital construction, and on the timely commissioning of production and cultural and everyday projects.

Many construction trusts have learned to work rapidly and well. But the scale and complexity of construction work are increasing all the time. This year alone, we have to commission two new power units in the Syrdarya GRES, an electric furnace for the production of 250,000 tons of steel per year in Bekabad, an oil-extraction plant in Urgench, dairy plants in Inandizhan, Angren and Nukus, the Novotashkent'skiy cannery, new capacities in the Bukhara cotton textile combine, a china plant in Kuvasay and a number of cotton-ginning plants, livestock-raising complexes, poultry farms and new reservoir fish farms.

All the construction and installation ministries and departments have begun to fulfill successfully the plan for contract work. However, matters are not shaping up altogether satisfactorily with regard to the chief indicator--the on-schedule commissioning of projects. Many projects planned for the first 6 months are still not ready, and the deadlines for their commissioning must not be postponed any longer, for almost 80 percent of the projects scheduled for commissioning in the annual plan must be commissioned in the second half of the year. And so it is necessary right now to concentrate all the necessary human, material and technical resources on them. Local ispolkoms must take strict, everyday control of laggard construction sites.

The assimilation of capital investments for local soviet projects is going badly. Dzhizakskaya, Bukharskaya, Khorozmskaya, Samarkandskaya, Surkhandarinskaya, Syrdarinskaya and Tashkent'skaya oblasts have failed to cope with the 5-month plan. They have not fulfilled the plan for the commissioning of housing, schools and children's and medical establishments.

Our constitution was one of the first in the world to proclaim a vitally important right of Soviet citizens--the right to housing. This provision of the fundamental law imposes on all soviets and their ispolkoms still greater responsibility for the general and unconditional fulfillment of the board program of housing construction, and for the strict observance of the rules for the allocation of apartments.

Local soviets are carrying out great work to provide cities, rayon centers, workers settlements and kolkhoz kishlaks with amenities. Potential for these purposes has increased considerably of late. Local soviets budgets are increasing year after year. In addition, they have been granted the right

to concentrate the funds of enterprises, kolkhozes, institutions and social organizations, and to channel them into housing and municipal and everyday construction.

Tashkent, Karshi, Yangiyul, Takhiatash and many other city and rayon soviets are carrying out great and purposeful work in this direction.

Look how, for instance, the city of Tashkent is being provided with amenities and growing more beautiful before your very eyes. How the new residential districts, modern unique buildings and main avenues, squares, boulevards and parks have added to its beauty. The city is well provided with greenery and full of flowers. A beautiful square has been constructed in its center, and a monumental memorial to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin has been erected. Our capital is acquiring the features of a model communist city. Karshi and many other of our cities and villages are being well built up and provided with amenities, and with great taste.

But that is by no means the situation everywhere. Many oblast, city and rayon soviets and their ispolkoms do not pay due attention to work to provide amenities, and do not display the necessary concern for improving the population's culture and daily life. Can it be regarded as normal that last year the ispolkoms of Samarkand and Termez city soviets, Dzharkurgan Rayon soviet and many other soviets failed to assimilate large sums provided for by the local budgets.

Every soviet must not only fully assimilate funds allocated to it but also, through cooperative work--legal, of course--provide amenities for cities and all populated centers, and construct more housing, children's and medical establishments, shops, canteens, restaurants, clubs, movie theaters and everyday projects. Concern for improving the population's cultural and everyday medical and trade services is the direct duty and obligation of the organs of state power--from the republic Supreme Soviet to all local soviets.

The discussion of the draft and the adoption of the new constitution must contribute to still more active participation by the broad working people's masses in economic management, and in control of the state apparatus' work. The local soviet elections which have just ended, which were held everywhere in an atmosphere of complete unanimity, and which have demonstrated with new force the unity of party and people, will contribute to this process.

The voters voted with great enthusiasm for our party's wise domestic and foreign policy, for the new Soviet Constitution, and for the inviolable bloc of communists and nonparty people.

The worthiest representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the intelligentsia have been elected deputies. About 70 percent of the members of the soviets of the new convocation are workers and kolkhoz members, almost 50 percent are women, and one deputy in three is under 30 years of age. These are people from the midst of the people's masses, and they represent all strata of the population in the soviet's of people's deputies--yes, people's, as the new constitution proposes that they be called henceforth.

The task is now to insure that all the newly elected soviets, the republic's government and ministries and departments raise the standards of their work and constantly check it against the demands of the constitution. The CPUZ Central Committee will make stricter demands of communists who are leaders of state and economic organs with regard to their fulfillment of their constitutional obligations.

And here Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's speech at the first USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium under his chairmanship is of programmatic importance for the soviets. It sets deputies, soviet apparatus personnel, and all our cadres a vivid example of high responsibility and a businesslike and creative attitude toward one's allotted task.

In order that the tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress can be solved successfully, and the 60th anniversary of Great October greeted worthily, the greatest organization, discipline, efficiency, flexibility and harmoniousness in work is demanded of all soviets, every leader, every deputy and all of us. In order to justify the trust of the party and the people everyone must, sparing no effort or energy, roll up their sleeves and work creatively and persistently--work, as our glorious cotton growers say, without flagging.

Comrades, little time remains before the jubilee, and it cannot be stretched out or prolonged. It is compressed to the limit. It is necessary to do everything possible to fulfill the annual plans and targets ahead of schedule. Party and soviet organs must everywhere create a sense of confidence and optimism in work, and an atmosphere of mutual respect, trust and mutual exactingness, and strive to insure that people work with vigor, creatively and with a good cheerful mood. It is necessary to combine high exactingness with a sensitive and considerate attitude toward every person.

Esteemed comrade deputies! Allow me to express my confidence that Uzbekistan's working people, fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May plenum, and guided by the theses of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report, and the draft of the new constitution, will respond to the concern of Lenin's party with selfless labor, will develop socialist competition still more widely, will persistently implement the majestic tasks advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress and will worthily greet our bright and dear holiday of the 60th anniversary of Great October. (Applause)

CSO: 1800

## KUNAYEV REPORT TO KAZAKH SUPREME SOVIET

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 77 pp 1-3 LD

[Summary of report delivered by D. A. Kunayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, fifth session of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet on 21 July: "On the USSR Draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) and the Tasks of Kazakh Soviets Ensuing From the Report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Constitutional Commission, at the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) Plenum"]

[Text] Comrade deputies!

The session of the republic's Supreme Soviet has met at a portentous time. This year will occupy a special place in the history of our country. It is the year of the glorious 60th anniversary of Great October, the year of the nationwide discussion of the new USSR draft constitution, the year of great new achievements in implementing the historic 25th CPSU Congress decisions.

Guided by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum, our session is faced with discussing the new USSR draft constitution and the tasks of the republic's soviets ensuing from the materials of that plenum and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's report to it.

The working people of our republic, as of the whole country, see the materials of the CPSU Central Committee May plenum as a convincing new manifestation of the Leninist party's concern for our motherland's prosperity, for strengthening its might and authority, and for creating the most favorable conditions for the comprehensive development of socialist democracy--the brightest democracy on earth.

At plenums, rayon and oblast party aktiv meetings and numerous gatherings in the course of the nationwide discussion which has been developed widely in the press and on television and radio, the people of Kazakhstan, like all the Soviet people, are warmly approving an epoch-making document of the present day--the draft of the new USSR Constitution.

The preparation of the draft of the new constitution, the speaker recalled, was the result of a great and multifaceted analysis of the results of the development of Soviet society and the international situation over the 40 years since the current constitution was adopted. The draft rests on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory, and graphically reflects the splendid fruits of the Leninist national policy and, above all, as its chief result, the emergence of a fundamentally new historic community of people--the Soviet people.

Combining in a Leninist manner the common interests of our country and of each of the fraternal republics, the draft takes full account of the conclusions and points advanced by our party on the basis of a creative generalization of the experience of communist building and world development.

This draft attracts the whole world's attention, above all, with its very broad democratism, lofty humanism, profound optimism and truly international essence. A worthy reply has thereby been made to all falsifiers, to everyone who is trying to revise Marxism-Leninism, and to all propagandists of imperialism and anticommunism.

The international response elicited by the draft of the new constitution is so great that even imperialist propaganda is unable to ignore it. Of course, it makes its own interpretation of the draft. The Maoists are also essentially uniting with bourgeois propaganda in attacks on the USSR's social and state system. But neither of them can ignore the truth about the draft of our new constitution. This constitution is the triumph of real socialism, and most convincing proof that the working person is our master and that the safeguarding of his interests is the chief concern of the Soviet state and of our dear party created by the great Lenin.

The outstanding role in elaborating the draft constitution belongs to Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. As chairman of the Constitutional Commission, he made a tremendous personal contribution to formulating the country's draft fundamental law, for which the Soviet people express most sincere and cordial gratitude and thanks to Leonid Il'ich.

The unswerving assertion of a truly Leninist work style, and the creation in the party and the country of an atmosphere of true creativity, trust and respect for cadres and party-minded principledness, are inseparably linked with the name of Leonid Il'ich. Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is the recognized leader of the party and the people, a loyal Marxist-Leninist, and the most authoritative representative of the Soviet state in the international arena. This is why every Soviet person received with warm approval and tremendous enthusiasm the decision of the sixth USSR Supreme Soviet session to elect Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The submission of the draft constitution for nationwide discussion is a further graphic manifestation of socialist democracy and a very important link in realizing the 25th CPSU Congress decisions and preparing for the glorious 60th anniversary of Great October.

The speaker pointed out with satisfaction that the discussion of the new draft constitution, the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at that plenum is taking place actively, interestingly and efficiently in our republic.

Since the discussion began, the working people of the republic have put forward specific suggestions and remarks which are now being carefully studied and generalized. The most valuable suggestions--and many are accumulating--will be passed on to the Constitution Commission.

During the discussion of the constitution, party and soviet organs and the editorial offices of newspapers and journals are receiving letters touching on questions of improving the work style of local soviets, and regularizing the activities of certain republican ministries and departments and other important topics are being raised. It is our primary duty to devote very close attention to them, and to do everything for the successful resolution of the questions touched upon.

The speaker went on to illuminate extensively in the light of the materials of the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum the principal points connected with the contents of the new USSR draft constitution, and graphically described its main features, which convincingly prove the incontestable advantages of our system and our way of life.

"We have created a new society, a society the like of which mankind has never known." He recalled the words of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. "It is a society with a crisis-free and constantly growing economy, mature socialist relations, genuine freedom.... Infinite scope for further all-round progress has been opened up before it."

The new USSR Constitution will be not only the country's fundamental law, consolidating the reality of developed socialism, and the heart of all our law-making activities but also an important political act, a manifesto of world socialism, and a convincing document of the age, proving irrefutably that socialism is gaining the victory in the historical competition between the two social systems.

Such is the inexorable course of history, and such the logic of the objective development of the world process, and there are no forces which could reverse this great process.

Noting this with tremendous satisfaction, each of us knows that in the years which have elapsed our party and state have done truly titanic work aimed at comprehensively strengthening the positions of world socialism and at preserving and consolidating peace throughout the world. The peace program formulated by the 24th CPSU Congress has been, and is now of historical significance. Having made an in-depth analysis of the international situation, the 25th party congress advanced the program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation, and for the peoples' freedom and independence.

One of the splendid events characterizing the fruitfulness of our foreign policy and its large-scale constructiveness was Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's recent visit to France, which accords not only with the interests of the two states, but also with the cause of strengthening peace and detente in Europe and throughout the world.

All the sociopolitical changes which have occurred in our country and in the international arena are extensively taken into account in the very spirit of the new draft constitution, the concreteness of its provisions, and the clarity of its formulas. As Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev emphasized at the Central Committee's May plenum, "we are placing on the scales of history the truly epoch-making achievements secured by the working people, thanks to the power of the working class under the Communist Party's leadership." And this conclusion is substantiated by our whole way of life, and by the whole history and the present day of our society, which is confidently marching toward the highest program aims outlined by the party.

The world of socialism, founded on social justice and liberated labor, and the capitalist world, built on man's oppression of man--these are now the two diametrically opposed social systems on earth, two fundamentally different ideologies and two moralities determining the people's moral makeup and their way of life.

By noisily advertising the "paradise" in bourgeois society which does not exist for the people, and inventing various concoctions like the "society of mass consumption," the monopolies' paid servants are seeking to conceal the irremovable vices of capitalism. The facts convincingly attest that there is and can be no question of any "universal prosperity" in the world of capital.

The modern reality of capitalism fully confirms the conclusion drawn in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 25th party congress; the promises to "improve" capitalism and to create a "society of universal prosperity" within its framework have obviously failed.

Particularly obvious against the background of the crisis, unemployment, uncertainty as to the future and other disorders of the world of capital are the outstanding successes of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. They demonstrate the very great advantages of socialism in all spheres of life. And what is most important here is the fact that all the achievements of the new world benefit the working people, and them alone. This is the law of our life, its essence and chief purport.

The growing scale of the tasks at the present stage of communist building, and the broad political and theoretical foundation of the new draft constitution, have left their mark on its content, structure and volume. The introduction of new sections, chapters and articles has made it possible to expound more fully the basic constitutional provisions and principles, and to disclose most fully the social and class essence and thrust of developed socialism.

Precisely this lay at the basis of the next section of Comrade Kunayev's report, in which he highlighted both the fundamental novelty and the organic continuity of the new draft constitution, which reflects the natural socio-political laws of developed socialism, and of its gradual development into communism.

Taking maximum account of the great changes in the life of society, the new draft constitution provides a detailed characterization of the Communist Party's role in the political system of Soviet society. V. I. Lenin's theses on the Soviet state are thereby successively preserved and consistently developed. As distinct from the 1936 constitution, it speaks more broadly and extensively of the party's place in the life of society and the state. A special article particularly emphasizes that it is precisely the Communist Party that is the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society and of all state and public organizations. All this is in full accordance with Lenin's idea that "the entire juridical and factual constitution of the Soviet republic is built on the premise that the party corrects, appoints and builds everything in accordance with a single principle..." (Complete Collected Works Vol 41 p 403).

The people's monolithic cohesion around their dear party is also expressed in the increased activity of all public organizations, whose authority and significance in our political system the draft raises still higher, endowing them with the right to participate in resolving political, economic and sociocultural questions and the right of legislative initiative.

It is the direct duty of public organizations--trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperative and other associations and creative unions of the working people--actively to help give all Soviet working people access to managing production, distribution, science, culture, education and public health.

The draft devotes much space to a characterization of the USSR economic system, which is founded on socialist ownership of the means of production. The state creates conditions for its augmentation, and helps to develop kolkhoz and cooperative ownership, and to draw it closer to state ownership.

While confirming the citizens' right of private ownership, and guaranteeing its protection in law, the draft emphasizes that property which is privately owned and used by citizens cannot serve as a source of unearned income or be used to the detriment of society.

The draft consolidates the economic role of the socialist state, which insures the raising of production efficiency and work quality, and the dynamic and balanced development of the country's unified national economic complex, relying on the working people's creative activeness, the socialist competition, and the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

The point in the draft, which states that the free labor of the Soviet people is a source of increased public wealth and well-being of the people and each individual, is of fundamental significance.



The provisions on the rights of the Soviet people have been substantially developed and improved.

The draft fundamental law records guaranteed rights and freedoms which did not figure in the old constitution. The draft of our new constitution demonstrates most graphically to the whole world how extensive and multifaceted are the rights and freedoms of citizens of the socialist society. Taken all together, these rights convincingly attest to the strength of the working person's position in the society of mature socialism.

"Every Soviet person is now certain," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev said in his television speech on 29 May this year, "that he will never be unemployed, that he will receive the necessary education, that his gifts and talents will find employment, that he will not be left to the mercy of fate in the event of sickness, that he will be sure in his old age and that he can rest easy as to the fate of his children."

We Soviet people are the freest people on earth, Comrade Kunayev pointed out. We are free from unemployment and poverty, from crises and other socioeconomic upheavals. We are free in our ardent desire to make life worthy of the bright ideals advanced by mankind's best minds. Our society is developing confidently in accordance with the highest principle advanced by K. Marx and F. Engels in the "Communist Party Manifesto": "...the free development of the individual is a condition of the free development of everyone" (Works Vol 4 p 447).

But freedom is not anarchy and self-will, and neither is it freedom from obligations to society and to our state.

Freedom in the USSR has and can have nothing in common with the desire of our ideological enemies to see among us "freedom" of action against the Soviet country and Soviet power. These gentlemen want too much. And it is not by chance that the draft emphasizes that the rights and freedoms of citizens cannot and must not be used against the socialist social system, or to the detriment of the interests of the Soviet people.

The draft clearly reflects the further strengthening of socialist legality and law and order. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet state have done great work on improving the laws and creating firm guarantees against any violations of citizens' rights of bureaucratic perversions. Continuing this line, the draft emphasizes that observance of the constitution and the laws is the duty of all organs of the state, officials, public organizations and citizens.

The new constitution further develops questions of the USSR's national state structure, whose solution insures the truly democratic combination of the common interests of the multinational union and the interests of each of its constituent republics and insures the comprehensive flowering and steady rapprochement of all our country's nations and nationalities.

The draft reflects the party's tremendous work in strengthening and enhancing the role of the soviets in resolving the most important questions of the life of society. When the constitution is adopted, the soviets will be called soviets of people's deputies.

The changes which the new constitution makes to the electoral system are being widely approved.

In short, the new USSR draft constitution is the document which not only worthily crowns our great achievements, but also, in addition to graphically reflecting what has been achieved, contains program provisions which inspire in each of us confidence in the inevitable triumph of the bright ideas of great Lenin's party.

Back at the dawn of Soviet power, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin wrote: "I am profoundly convinced that individually different federations of free nations will increasingly group themselves around revolutionary Russia. This federation will grow absolutely voluntarily, without lies or iron, and it will be invincible" (Complete Collected Works Vol 35 p 288).

The leader's prophetic words have come true. Graphic confirmation of this is provided by the achievements of Soviet Kazakhstan. They reflect, as though at a focal point, the very great transformations which have occurred in our country in 40 heroic years. Representatives of more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups live and work in Kazakhstan today. In the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples, the Kazakh SSR has now achieved an unprecedented flowering of its economy, science and culture. Kazakhstan now produces 43 times more industrial output than it did in 1937.

From the first days of Soviet power, consistently pursuing a Leninist national policy, the party developed tremendous creative work in Kazakhstan. Each year of socialist building was equal in scale to decades. Where lifeless expanses spread out 40 years ago, dozens of new socialist cities have risen up, and very important oblasts have been formed, such as Kustanayskaya, Severo-Kazakhstanskaya, Semipalatinskaya, Pavlodarskaya, Kzyl-Ordinskaya, Guryevskaya, Dzhambulskaya, Kokchetavskaya, Tselinogradskaya, Taldy-Kurganskaya, Turgayskaya, Mangyshlaksкая and Dzherzhinskaya. Each of Kazakhstan's 19 oblasts is a big region organically linked with the whole economy of the republic and the country. Kustanayskaya Oblast, for example, is not only producing ever increasing volumes of agricultural produce but is also a unique raw materials base for the country's metallurgy. Dzhambulskaya and Chimkentskaya oblasts, which used to be known only as agrarian oblasts, have now become a region of large-scale chemistry.

Mighty territorial production complexes have been created in the republic and are developing successfully, very rich reserves of natural resources have been and are being brought into economic circulation, and very progressive sectors of industrial production have arisen and are developing successfully.

Modern industry has radically changed the region's appearance. In pre-revolutionary Kazakhstan, more than 90 percent of the population lived in rural localities. There are now more than 80 cities in the republic, more than 60 of which have arisen in Soviet times, and there are hundreds of workers settlements in which more than half the population lives. One of the notable features of all our cities is their constant growth and their improving architectural appearance.

Implementing its economic strategy, the party insures the dynamic development of all social production, which leads at the same time to important social changes and to the steady quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class. The proportion of the working class in the total mass of Kazakhstan's employed population now stands at more than 72 percent. And the majority of workers under 30 years old have secondary education.

Here are some other characteristic traits of Kazakhstan's virgin lands, which have become reality thanks to the creative labor of the entire Soviet people.

There were several low-capacity hydroelectric stations in the republic 40 years ago. Now Kazakhstan holds third place in the union for electricity generation, and produces 194 times more electricity than in 1937. Giants of power generation are operating in the republic, and nuclear power generation has emerged and is developing successfully.

Kazakhstan has become a major center of the fuel industry. In terms of the level of extraction mechanization, Karaganda's mines have no equals among the country's coal basins. A fourth coal field has been created--the Ekibastuz complex. In all, Kazakhstan now produces more than 90 million tons a year, which is three times as much as all of Russia produced before the revolution.

The opening up of the natural riches of the "peninsula of treasures"--Mangyshlak--has put the republic among the leading petroleum regions. Kazakhstan now holds second place in the country for oil extraction. Oil production has increased many times over in 40 years.

Kazakhstan now has its own mighty ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy. The whole country knows of Kazakhstan's Magnitka and the industrial giants of Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya, Aktyubinskaya, Pavlodarskaya, Dzherkazganskaya and other oblasts.

Previously, there was no machine-building industry here. Now machine building is one of the national economy's leading sectors, whose diverse output goes to many countries of the world.

We had virtually no chemical industry 40 years ago, but we now produce more than 6 million tons of mineral fertilizers alone. Kazakhstan has become the motherland of a young sector--the phosphorous industry.

Our republic has seen the rapid development of the light and food industries, represented by such giants as the Alma-Ata cotton combine, Kustanay worsted-cloth combine, Semipalatinsk and Petropavlovsk meat combines and a whole number of other enterprises.

I could cite many more facts, figures and comparisons convincingly attesting to the mighty upsurge of our economy and its dynamic and comprehensive development, the speaker said. This development is becoming increasingly intensive with each year and every day, based on the most progressive technology and on the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the incontestable advantages of developed socialism.

While gratefully receiving the experience of others, our republic in turn generously shares its own experience and takes an active part in the Soviet Union's economic, scientific, technical and cultural exchange with foreign countries. Kazakhstan now has economic ties with 80 countries and cultural ties with 96 countries.

The children and grandchildren of yesterday's nomads are today rendering skilled scientific and technical assistance to the peoples of many countries in Asia and Africa, Europe and Latin America. Hundreds of specialists are sent on business trips from the republic to dozens of countries every year.

Today it is impossible to imagine any sector of the national economy or any corner of Kazakhstan without hundreds upon hundreds of new construction projects, extensive communication networks, and the most modern means of communication. The very word "construction" has become a symbol of rapid creation, as it has throughout our country. In 1940, the volume of capital investments totaled R260 million for the republic. Annual capital investments in Kazakhstan now exceed R7 billion, that is, a growth of more than 26 times.

In 1940, the housing stock in cities and city settlements did not even total 10 million square meters. It now exceeds 80 million. During the years of the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone, apartment blocks with a total area of 31 million square meters were constructed. And the majority of housing is constructed with state funds.

Agriculture has taken a truly gigantic, revolutionary step forward. Thanks to the party's indefatigable concern, it has become a major, highly mechanized sector in which, in addition to the growth of quantitative indicators, profound qualitative changes are taking place under the influence of scientific and technical progress.

A special role in increasing the republic's production forces was played by the heroic virgin lands episode, when the republic party organization was headed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. The opening up of the virgin lands not only raised the republic's rural economy to a qualitatively new level, making Kazakhstan the country's major granary, but also contributed confidently to the comprehensive growth of its multisector industry, science and culture.

Carefully keeping the first virgin-landers' glorious traditions and developing them in every possible way, the people of Kazakhstan have repeatedly gladdened their beloved motherland with great achievements in which there is also undoubtedly a considerable share of your labor, dear comrade deputies.

Last year, when we produced almost 30 million tons of grain, it was a record for the republic.

Gratifying changes have occurred in livestock raising. State purchases of livestock and poultry have increased more than 15 times, and those of wool 10 times, and milk procurements have reached 2 million tons a year, against 235,000 tons in 1936--with a sharp increase in the numbers of all types of livestock.

Noting the unprecedented development of the republic's economy, Comrade Kunayev revealed in depth the significance of the great socioeconomic transformations which are assuredly influencing the growth of the working people's material well-being and the enhancement of their education and culture.

In the past 10 years alone, the republic's national income has increased 1.7 times, real per capita incomes 1.6 times and payments of benefits to working people out of public consumption funds 2.3 times.

Discussing the draft constitution, we see profound transformations in the spiritual life of the Kazakh people, whom Great October restored to a new life, and in the spiritual life of all the working people of our multinational republic.

In the prewar years there were just over 50,000 specialists in Kazakhstan with higher and secondary specialized education. Our republic now trains cadres for very different qualifications. More than 1.1 million specialists are now working in the republic's national economy. Almost half a million students and pupils are studying in 50 VUZ's and 217 secondary specialized educational institutions. Some 3.4 million pupils are studying in the republic's schools. We have in practice successfully resolved the tasks of universal primary education.

Science has been created anew in the republic and is developing confidently. The Academy of Sciences and the eastern branch of the V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences have become major scientific centers. The republic's scientists resolve very modern problems of a fundamental and applied nature. The in-depth scientific research and practical results of many of our scientists have acquired union and world renown.

Public health has also attained high standards in a short time in Kazakhstan. Our republic has reached the level of the most developed countries in terms of the number of doctors, the number of hospital beds and other indicators. The republic has five medical institutes and dozens of technical colleges and schools, and there is a broad network of very diverse public health establishments where the latest achievements of medical science are actively being introduced into practice.

The whole way of life of the Kazakh people and all the republic's working people has changed radically and been renewed in an unprecedented manner. A region which used to be crossed only by caravan trails, and where railroads were a rarity, has today become one of the regions most saturated with the most modern means of transport and communication. Veritable communication arteries feed the republic's whole vast national economic organism.

Today we see at every step the implementation of the party's program slogan "Everything in behalf of man and for the good of man." There are the well-appointed apartments in cities and villages, the dwellings of herdsmen and machine operators which have been connected to gas supplies, the new schools and the network of kindergartens and creches, the palaces of culture and sport, the consumer services centers and the trade and public catering enterprises.

In the past 40 years alone, 1937 through 1976, the volume of retail commodity turnover in state and cooperative trade has increased 19 times. Enormous qualitative changes have taken place here; these sectors have also moved on to an industrial footing.

The all-union and worldwide prestige of Soviet Kazakhstan's multigenre art and literature is known to all. They colorfully combine national uniqueness with all that is best drawn from the inexhaustible treasury of the great all-soviet creativity which in turn is enriched by each national culture.

Every day that we live is filled with great achievements which become reality thanks to the wise policy of our dear party, and thanks to the selfless aid of the fraternal peoples of our country, and above all the great Russian people. These achievements strike the imagination today, yet tomorrow they will be even more impressive.

We can clearly perceive the republic's future. Its new day when it will reveal to the maximum all its economic and spiritual potential, when all the resources of its depths and its boundless fields, the fruit of the minds, talents and energy of its people, will begin to flow still more fully to the benefit and happiness of Soviet people.

All our thoughts and deeds have been, are and always will be inseparable from the inspired labor of our great and united motherland--the USSR--and in this each of us sees the main meaning of our labor and the meaning of our life.

Comrade deputies: in accordance with the instructions given by Comrade Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Central Committee May (1977) plenum, the need arises to elaborate and adopt new constitutions in all the union and autonomous republics.

To this end, the speaker said, we must form a commission to elaborate the draft of a new constitution of the Kazakh SSR. The staff of the commission is being submitted today for examination and approval by the present session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Very crucial work lies ahead in which full use must be made of the experience accumulated during the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution. In its spirit, content and form, our draft must accord with the new USSR Constitution, and at the same time take into account the specific features of the republic.

Like the new USSR Constitution, the draft of the republic's constitution should indicate the leading and guiding role of the party. We are indebted for all our successes to its wise leadership. "Born in the class battles, tempered in the crucible of hard trials, the Communist Party of Kazakhstan is one of the militant detachments of the CPSU and its reliable support," Comrade Brezhnev said in his speech at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Kazakh SSR. This should also be reflected in the draft constitution of the Kazakh SSR.

The draft constitution will state that the Kazakh SSR is a socialist republic expressing the will and interests of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, and all nations and nationalities of Kazakhstan. The draft will back up by legislation the fundamental principles of the organization and activity of the Kazakh SSR.

The draft of the new constitution of the Kazakh SSR, Comrade Kunayev noted, should take into account the renewal and improvement of legislation effected in the republic. A very great deal has been done in this sphere, and it absolutely must be taken into account.

A single union law on the status of the soviet deputies is in force in the USSR. With a view to enhancing the role of the deputies, their basic powers envisaged by this law have also been included in the draft of the USSR Constitution. I think that it would be right to include the basic powers of the soviet deputies in the draft constitution of the Kazakh Republic as well.

The draft of the Kazakh SSR constitution should obviously reflect the increased role of the trade unions, Komsomol, cooperative and other public organizations.

The present constitution of the Kazakh SSR provides for broad socioeconomic, political and personal rights and freedoms, and also duties of the citizens. In the period of building mature socialism, their content has been intensified and material guarantees have been strengthened, which has been reflected in the further enrichment and expansion of a broad spectrum of rights and freedoms. All this should also be enshrined in the draft of the republic's new constitution.

On literally all aspects of our sociopolitical and socioeconomic life, the republic's new constitution should be a document worthy of our time--a time of the confident advance of the multinational and united Soviet people along the path of great communist creation.

Then Comrade Kunayev said: Preparation for the Soviet people's great holiday--the 60th anniversary of Great October--and the discussion of the draft of the USSR Constitution are taking place under the sign of the implementation of the ideas and decisions of the 25th party congress and of the targets of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

The results of its first year are known. The past year raised Kazakhstan's economy, science and culture to a new, higher level, and insured the initial pace for the republic's further all-round development.

The present, jubilee year, the year of nationwide labor and political enthusiasm, has also begun quite well.

The republic's multisector industry has fulfilled ahead of schedule the plan for the first 6 months for the production and sale of the most important types of output, and for other basic indicators. The country has received an additional large quantity of electricity, gas, mineral fertilizers, nonferrous metals and output of the machine-building industry.

There are many pleasing changes in the retooling of existing enterprises, which helps to increase production efficiency and improve output quality. Over 60 new large-scale capacities equipped with the latest technology have been commissioned. Hundreds of sociocultural and consumer projects have been constructed.

The work on all types of transport and communications, and medical and consumer services for the population is being actively improved.

Science and culture have developed further.

But our successes would be even greater, the speaker pointed out, if all party, soviet and economic organs exerted more effective influence on the course of plan fulfillment, and on improving production efficiency and work quality, and put internal reserves into action with still greater scope and efficiency. Unfortunately, to this day, we still have industrial enterprises which are not coping with the set targets and the pledges adopted. This applies above all to the Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya, Tselinogradskaya, Karagandinskaya and Dzhambul'skaya oblasts.

And the conclusions here must be drawn very clearly. The duty of the party committees, local soviets and all links, is to concentrate all their efforts and energy on insuring that every sector of economic and cultural building is distinguished not verbally but in fact by good-quality, highly efficient work.

As before, we must pay paramount attention to further raising the tempo, scope and quality of capital construction, for which this year is a complex and crucial one in each of the republic's 19 oblasts. The Novo-Dzhambul'skiy phosphorus plant must be commissioned. Among the projects nearing completion



are new capacities for the Karagayly, Zhayrem, and Zhezkentskiy mining and enrichment combines, an oxygen house at the Karaganda metallurgical combine, the Ust-Kamenogorsk silk combine and other large-scale projects in all sectors of industry and agriculture.

The volume of work is exceptionally large in the construction of apartment blocks and cultural and consumer projects. And after all, it is no secret that we are not building to schedule or in a good-quality manner everywhere.

This is why it is essential for the local soviets, deputies and the broadest aktiv to step up the attention they pay to questions of increasing the efficiency of capital investment, which is connected with the implementation of measures for reducing the time taken to build installations, reducing the cost and enhancing the quality of construction work, and intensifying the policy of economy and thrift. Here, as in any other question, it is important to insure not a formal but a specific and concerned approach whereby there can be no room for any manifestations of bad management, slovenliness and the obliteration of personal responsibility.

At such a crucial time, the speaker said, I would like to draw particular attention to our agricultural affairs. Kazakhstan's enhanced role as one of the country's greatest granaries is well known.

Just now our rural workers have mounted a broad struggle for the successful fulfillment of the jubilee year's socialist pledges.

The day before yesterday, the CPKA Central Committee plenum examined questions connected with the gathering of the harvest and the procurement of fodder for social livestock raising and for the forthcoming livestock wintering period.

The plenum adopted a detailed resolution on all these questions making it obligatory everywhere to gather the harvest to a high standard, to mobilize all our forces and potential for the struggle for the Kazakhstan grain harvest, and to resolutely pit against all the difficulties our cohesion and skill, and the experience and expertise of the remarkable cadres which have been forged in the republic, and whose heroic deeds are known throughout the country.

At the same time, the plenum noted that in a number of rayons not very favorable climatic conditions are developing, and this makes it incumbent upon all of us to display the maximum sense of responsibility in our treatment of problems on which the successful development of livestock raising depends.

Throughout the republic as a whole, the situation in livestock raising is certainly improving. According to the results for the first half of the year, more cattle, sheep, goats and poultry are on hand than at the same period last year, and meat, milk and egg production has risen.

But, comrade deputies, we still have much to do in order to insure the accelerated upsurge of this important sector, to improve the fattening of livestock either on the pastureland or by means of feed additives, to increase milk yields, and to sell more livestock-raising produce to the state.

It is essential to wage a most determined struggle for the safekeeping and further growth of the social livestock population.

One of the key questions for the solution of this problem is fodder procurement on a scale that will insure that the next livestock wintering period can be carried out normally.

We are confident that the Central Committee members and all the participants in the plenum will draw the correct conclusions from the crucial discussion at the plenum the day before yesterday and will work in the way the party demands.

Each deputy, each standing commission and group of deputies must find their own specific place in fulfilling the decisions of the plenum--there must not be any uninvolved or indifferent people here, for it is only with the participation of absolutely all the people that we will be able confidently and stably to develop our multisector rural economy.

For this purpose it is necessary, with the most active participation of the city, to bring all reserves into play, to step up efforts in the struggle for the steady upsurge of agriculture, and to strive to secure the unconditional fulfillment and overfulfillment of socialist pledges.

Comrade deputies! The nationwide discussion of the draft of the country's new constitution is continuing, Comrade Kunayev went on to say. This is a most important political campaign. On the threshold of the glorious 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution it is powerfully galvanizing all our public life and is imparting an even greater scope to socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the five-year plan targets, and for raising the efficiency and quality of work in all elements of the national economy. And it is our duty to make full use of the discussion of the draft for further enhancing the standard of our entire organizing and ideological activity.

Here special attention should be focused on further improving the style and methods of activity of the soviets, of their standing commissions, and of groups of deputies, and on intensifying in every way their specific and effective influence on literally every sphere of life.

"The Communist Party has always proceeded from the premise that anyone of our soviets is a fraction of supreme power," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev particularly stressed at the 17 June session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, drawing attention to the exceptional importance of this principle which .

reflects the unity of the supreme and local organs, and the main essence of the soviets as organs of the genuine people's power.

As Leonid Il'ich observed, the soviets are the living, moving organization of the people--an organization which is constantly renewing itself. Just as at one time they were able to channel the revolutionary movement of the masses and their efforts in building socialism along a common course, so now under conditions of mature socialism the work of the soviets must encompass even more fully the struggle for the successful fulfillment of the broad socioeconomic program outlined by the party, and for the development of all aspects of our socialist democracy.

At the last elections to the republic's local soviets, more than 123,000 deputies were elected. This is a tremendous force, comrades. Of these, more than 67 percent are workers and kolkhoz members. It is important to insure that each deputy not only works excellently himself, but also that he is an energetic organizer of good deeds, and that he devotes all his knowledge and experience to the people who have placed this tremendous trust in him. This is why it is essential to tirelessly strengthen the link with the masses, to be right in the midst of their interests, to put the party's policy into practice in word and deed, and to resolutely eradicate the shortcomings that exist.

A deputy is obliged to make a very strict and principled evaluation of the incorrect actions of those who do not understand the spirit of the times, who endeavor to work inertly and at half strength, and who count on others to do their work.

A deputy is obliged to make every effort, using the powers given him by the people, successfully to fulfill the voters' mandates relating to production affairs, the improvement of cultural-domestic, medical and trade services for the working people, the provision of public services and amenities in cities, villages and auls, the maintenance of public order and other matters.

And all party, soviet-economic and administrative organs, and public organizations must give the deputy most active and effective support in this.

Life shows that the deputy sometimes encounters difficulties--and considerable ones--in the execution of his duty. It can happen that they are directly connected with the irresponsible and complacent attitude of certain officials.

If things were otherwise, then order would long since have been instilled in the work of trade, and of public catering and consumer services enterprises in Turgayskaya, Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya and Semipalatinskaya oblasts, for example, where a mass of shortcomings has still not been eradicated. More than half the consumer services enterprises in Guryevskaya Oblast are still taking a loss. This is also the result of direct inattention toward them on the part of the oblast and rayon soviets, their ispolkoms and deputy groups.

Work on providing public services and amenities, preserving the housing pool and improving the sanitary state of yard and street areas, is unsatisfactory in Chirkentskaya and Aktyubinskaya oblasts. Here, too, control over the quality of construction and its schedules is weak.

In Turgayskaya and Kzyl-Ordinskaya oblasts, work on public health has grown weaker in the system of vocational and technical education. In Kokchetavskaya, Taldy-Kurganskaya and Uralskaya oblasts, few infant feeding centers are being constructed, whereas there is an extremely brisk trade in liquor.

Unfortunately, there are still many negative facts and manifestations among us. But it is necessary not only to register them, but also to struggle resolutely against the causes giving rise to them, whether this applies to spoiled sewn goods of the Ust-Kamenogorsk "Rassvet" Association and the Semipalatinsk knitted outerwear factory, or to the instilling of model public order, for example, in Karaganda or Alma-Ata.

There are and must be no trifles in a deputy's work. This work is not easy, but it is honorable and gratifying. The soviets are individual local organs of state power with full rights. The draft of the new constitution immeasurably enhances both their role and the role of the deputy of any link, and this means in practice that whoever disregards the opinion of the soviet and does not help the deputy or the execution of his duties will inevitably set himself against the country's fundamental law.

But, at the same time, business demands on the deputy are also increasing. Every deputy, regardless of official rank, must really be the servant of the people, and is obliged to know well the people's sentiments to take their suggestions carefully into consideration and to study them in detail. Special responsibility for organizing the deputies' active work rests with the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, and with the ispolkoms of the oblast and rayon links of the local soviets, which are obliged to insure, not in a formal manner but in fact, that the population is informed about the work of the deputies and their reports to the voters, and to insure that every deputy fulfills his duties with total competence and high authority.

Comrades! During the continuing discussion of the draft of the new constitution it is important that every inhabitant of our republic not only familiarize himself with the draft but also profoundly understand and realize with his mind and heart the tremendous significance of every word of this historic document. We must devote special attention here to strengthening the working people's education in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, socialist internationalism, friendship of the peoples and implacability toward bourgeois ideology. It is important to conduct all this work with regard to the special features of different categories of the population, insuring an attentive and respectful attitude toward the voice of the working people.

In our republic, the text of the draft of the new constitution has been published in the Kazakh, Uighur, Korean and German languages. The mass news media are showing the course of the nationwide discussion of this document on a day-to-day basis. But they must not limit themselves to this. It is important for the press, television and radio to reflect more broadly and extensively the organizational work of party and soviet organs, the Komsomol and creative unions connected with the discussion. And all this must be combined with a display of our reality today, and of the advantages of the Soviet way of life, and with the concrete successes of real socialism.

Shedding light on the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution, and analyzing, generalizing and constantly publicizing the opinions and suggestions of the working people, the task consists in mobilizing them to achieve new successes in the socialist competition, and to raise social production efficiency and work quality in order to fulfill the targets of the jubilee year ahead of schedule, and to insure a fitting greeting for the glorious 60th anniversary of Great October.

Workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia--the entire Soviet people--are devoting their inspired labor to this portentous jubilee, and with them are also the working people of Soviet Kazakhstan--an inalienable part of our great and united state, the motherland of Great October, the motherland of great Lenin.

We are sure that the republic's Supreme Soviet will unanimously approve our country's draft new constitution, which calls forth in all Soviet people tremendous inspiration and a surge of energy and creative strength.

Permit me, dear comrades, on your behalf to assure the CPSU's Leninist Central Committee and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, personally that the working people of Soviet Kazakhstan will make a worthy contribution through their selfless labor to the successful fulfillment of the decisions of the historic 25th CPSU Congress, and will greet the 60th anniversary of October with new successes in all sectors of communist building.

(D. A. Kunayev's report was heard out with great attention, and was repeatedly interrupted by stormy and prolonged applause).

CSO: 1800

## USUBALIYEV REPORT TO KIRGIZ SUPREME SOVIET

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 8 Jul 77 pp 1-3

[Speech by CC CP Kirgizia First Secretary Deputy T. U. Usubaliyev: "The Draft of the USSR Constitution and the Tasks of the Soviets of Workers Deputies of the Republic, Deriving From the Report of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU. Report of CC CP Kirgizia First Secretary, Deputy T. U. Usubaliyev"]

[Excerpts] Comrade deputies!

The current session of the Kirgiz SSR Supreme Soviet is taking place at a remarkable time. All the peoples of our vast socialist homeland, implementing the historic plans of the 25th CPSU Congress, in a unified, fraternal family, closely rallied around our own dear CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee, are marching toward the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

All the social-political life of the country, including our republic, is taking place these days under the enormous influence of the decisions of the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU, the exceptionally brilliant and profoundly meaningful report at the plenum given by CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Constitutional Commission Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, and the decisions of the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It is with a sense of profoundest satisfaction and inexpressible joy that the working people of Kirgiziya, together with all Soviet people, received the decree of the highest body of state power concerning the election of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to be chairman of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This act once more expressed the inseparable unity of the party and the people, the constant rise in the CPSU's role of guidance and leadership in all the life of Soviet society. It embodies the nation's acknowledgment of the outstanding personal qualities of the CC CPSU General Secretary, his truly titanic and multifaceted activities on behalf of the Soviet state, strengthening peace on earth and the security of nations.

Comrade deputies! The necessity of combining the two high posts in the activities of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev is suggested by life itself, all the practice of the building of communism in our country; it is consistent with the highest interests of Soviet society.

As is well known, the plenum of the CC CPSU, held on 24 May of this year, with the full unanimity of members of the Central Committee, adopted the decree which deemed it advisable to have CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev simultaneously occupy the post of Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This decree of the plenum of the CC CPSU was warmly and unanimously approved by the whole party, by the whole Soviet people, including the party members and working people of Kirgiziya. At the plenum of the CC CP Kirgiziya, meetings of active party membership in oblasts, cities, and rayons, and crowded rallies of the republic's working people, discussing the results of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, the exceptional importance and correctness of such a decision was emphasized. Kirgiziya's working people, together with all the Soviet people, relate their innermost thoughts and accomplishments inseparately to their own dear party, its Leninist Central Committee, the Politburo, and the name of a worthy continuer of Lenin's great cause, an outstanding political and state figure of our time, a faithful Marxist-Leninist, a valiant warrior for peace and social progress--Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

The working people of Kirgiziya know very well that all basic issues of both domestic policy, aimed at the building of communism, and foreign policy, aimed at strengthening the cause of peace and social progress, are resolved directly by the CC CPSU and its Politburo on the initiative and with the direct personal participation of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

His talent as an organizer, far-seeing politician, and statesman of the Leninist type, his whole life, as was mentioned at the plenum of CC CPSU and the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has dedicated to the selfless service of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, to a constant concern for improving the life of the people, the great cause of the building of communism.

CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU Secretary Comrade M. A. Suslov, speaking at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet to report on the decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, remarked that the CPSU's growing role of guidance and leadership in all the life of the country, the domestic and foreign policy activities of the Soviet state, and the outstanding personal qualities and selfless labor of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev on behalf of our homeland, have led to the fact that for many years now he has actually appeared before our people and before the whole world as the most authoritative representative of the CPSU and the Soviet socialist state.

Many historically important documents have been signed personally by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in the name of our state. It is thanks to the Leninist wisdom, energy, and steadfastness that Leonid Il'ich has always brought to the cause of strengthening peace throughout the world that our country has risen to such a height and acquired such prestige that practically no more or less vital problem of international significance is resolved without its participation. Now, the Soviet Union has become for millions and millions of people on earth the bulwark of peace, progress, a happy present, and a bright future for mankind.

Speaking at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, deputies unanimously declared that the boundless trust of the Soviet people in their Leninist party and its Central Committee and the election of CC CPSU General Secretary' Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to be Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet respond to the thoughts and feelings of party members and all Soviet people, and Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, having taken on the homeland's new assignment, will do everything so that it may flourish and that peace on earth may be strengthened.

New, convincing proof of the increasing prestige of our party and Soviet state is the successful visit of CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to France. As a result of this visit, important Soviet-French documents were signed, whose importance goes far beyond the framework of relations between the two countries.

The working people of Kirgiziya, together with all the Soviet people, knowing Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to be a tireless worker, a man of strong will, high moral qualities, and personal charm, devoting all his efforts and enormous organizational talent to the cause of the building of communism, warmly and unanimously approve the election of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to be Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Allow me in your name, in the name of all the working people of Kirgiziya, from all my heart to wish Leonid Il'ich new, eminent successes for the good of our party and the Soviet people, for the sake of the triumph of communism, in his activities in the high posts of CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The election of L. I. Brezhnev to the post of head of the Soviet state has evoked wide response throughout the world. This event, emphasizes the press in the fraternal socialist states, is of great importance not only in the domestic life of the Soviet people but also in the international arena. The numerous congratulatory telegrams addressed to Comrade L. I. Brezhnev by party and state figures in countries on all continents emphasize the logical correctness of the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet; they express sincere wishes to Leonid Il'ich for great success in carrying out the new and exceptionally high and responsible duties as head of the CPSU and the Soviet state.



Comrade deputies! The question that has been placed on the agenda of the current session of the Kirgiz SSR Supreme Soviet concerning the draft of the USSR Constitution must be viewed from the precise, clear, and principled positions put forth in the report of CC CPSU General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU.

All the working people of our country have had the opportunity to study Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's report, which was published in our press right after the draft of the new constitution. It is an outstanding document of our time, one which immeasurably enriches Marxist-Leninist science about the state and socialist society. The report arms the party and the people with a clear perspective, profound confidence in the triumph of our communist ideals. It presents a Leninist, genuinely scientific analysis of the truly epochal changes that have taken place in the life of our country and in the international situation since the adoption of the constitution now in effect; it comprehensively substantiates the necessity of drawing up a new USSR Constitution.

The plenum of the CC CPSU, as you know, basically approved the draft constitution and recommended that the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet submit the draft constitution to nationwide discussion.

As you know, on 27 May a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was held in the Kremlin; it reviewed the draft of the USSR Constitution. A report on the draft constitution was given by CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Constitutional Committee Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. After comprehensive discussion of this question, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a ukase that nationwide discussion of the draft constitution should begin.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in accordance with a decision of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, also adopted a ukase approving the text and music of the USSR State Hymn. It decreed that performance of the USSR State Hymn should be inaugurated from 1 September 1977.

Comrade deputies!

The warm and unanimous approval with which the working people of our multinational homeland, including the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia of Soviet Kirgiziya, accepted the decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, demonstrates once against their boundless dedication to their own Communist Party, their full support for its domestic and foreign policies.

It is the party's Leninist, scientifically substantiated political course of action, supported and implemented by all the people, the tireless creative efforts of the CC CPSU, and the Politburo, headed by Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, that has assured the ambitious achievements of the Soviet state, its emergence on a new stage of progress forward along the road to communism.

Indeed, comrades, in just a few decades, our socialist homeland has traveled a path equivalent to many centuries. For this first time in history, the Soviet Union has built a mature, developed socialist society and is successfully resolving the tasks of building up the material-technical base of communism, of gradually transforming socialist production relations into communist ones.

The country's economy, which now represents an integrated, powerful national-economy organism, has changed beyond recognition, also the social shape of the Soviet society, in which a new historic community of people has developed-- a Soviet people, also the Soviet state, which came into being as a dictatorship of the proletariat and has become a state of the whole people.

Summarizing the above, we here today once more declare that these successes have been achieved by the Kirgiz people thanks to the guidance and constant concern of the CPSU and the Soviet state, thanks to the fact that the Kirgiz people live and create in a fraternal family of peoples, thanks to the fair and generous help of the great Russian people and the other fraternal peoples of the Land of the Soviets. We will continue to guard as the apple of our eye and to strengthen the unshakeable friendship of the Kirgiz people with the great Russian people, with all the fraternal peoples of our country.

Comrade deputies! The path traveled by the Soviet Union, and its glorious historic result--the creation of the world's first developed, mature socialist society--and the goals and tasks of the building of communism, are profoundly reflected in the draft of the new constitution, which constitutes a genuine manifesto of the era of the building of communism.

The drafting of a new constitution is a logical development, fully consistent with Leninist doctrine. Vladimir Il'ich repeatedly emphasized that Soviet constitutions, having great significance to the development of Soviet society and the state, themselves are changed and perfected in the course of the building of socialism.

The draft of the new constitution was given birth by life itself; it came into being on the soil of the genuine gains and achievements of the working people of our country; it generalizes the enormous experience of Soviet society; it takes account of the principles of state development laid down by great Lenin, the provisions of previous constitutions of the Soviet state, the numerous new legislative acts, and the experience of the constitutional development of fraternal socialist countries. It is fully consistent with the directives of the party, especially the 25th congress.

"The new draft of the constitution," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the Congress, "must of course reflect the great victories of socialism; it must record not only the general principles of the socialist system, expressing the class nature of our state, but also the basic features of a developed socialist society and its political organization."

And now we can state that this task has been resolved brilliantly. At the plenum of the CC CPSU, the exceptionally fruitful efforts of the Constitutional Commission, headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, was emphasized with great unanimity. It is difficult to overestimate the personal contribution of Leonid Il'ich in the drafting of the new constitution. And the Soviet people will always be immeasurably grateful to Leonid Il'ich for this noble and fruitful labor.

Comrade deputies!

In accordance with Leninist tradition, the new draft constitution not only reflects the great social-economic and political gains of socialism but also records the program-oriented provisions deriving from the conclusions of the 25th CPSU Congress to the effect that a developed socialist society is a society that is gradually being transformed into a communist one. "The highest goal of the Soviet state," the preamble to the draft constitution states, "is the building of a classless communist society."

Section 1 of the draft constitution, as you know, deals with the social-political and economic structure of the USSR.

In characterizing the political system that has been shaped in our country, the draft points out that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, of all nations and nationalities of the country. All authority in the country belongs to the people, and in accordance with this the representative bodies of authority will now be known as Soviets of Peoples Deputies.

The socialist state of the whole people is the major tool in the hands of the Soviet people in the cause of the building of a communist society. Under developed socialism and its gradual transformation into communism, the state does not die away, does not fade, but on the contrary becomes stronger; the fullest possible disclosure and utilization of its constructive, creative, and organizational capabilities are assumed.

The nucleus of the political system of our society, its guiding, leading, and mobilizing force, is the CPSU--the militant vanguard of the whole Soviet people. The draft constitution, in contrast to the constitution now in effect, presents an elaborated characterization of the party's role of guidance. From now on, the historic role of the CPSU is legislatively stipulated in the USSR Constitution.

"Armed with Marxist-Leninist doctrine," Article 6 of the draft constitution states, "the CPSU defines the general perspective of development of society, the line of domestic and foreign policies of the USSR; it guides the great constructive activities of the Soviet people and imparts a systematic, scientifically substantiated character to its struggle for the victory of communism."

This reflects with exceptional clarity the role of our party in the life of Soviet society. All political and social gains, all great revolutionary transformations accomplished through the creative labor of the multinational Soviet people, are inseparably linked to the titanic activities of Lenin's party. Its role under developed socialism rises even higher. The forward development of Soviet society, the rising scope of the building of communism, the multifaceted activities of our country in the international arena--these all insistently require raising the level of party guidance of economic and cultural development, improving organizational and political-educational work among the masses.

In characterizing the activities of the party at the present stage, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May 1977 Plenum of the CC CPSU said: "Now even more complex and various are the tasks which the party will have to solve. Its role has become even more crucial; the scope of its guiding influence on all the domestic life of the country and its foreign policies is larger." And all the Soviet people are well aware and can see how Lenin's party, guided by the teachings of Lenin, is wisely and far-sightedly leading the working people of the Land of the Soviets along the unprecedented paths of the building of communism. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people; it is the mind, honor, and conscience of our era.

It is the social organizations--the trade union, the Komsomol, the cooperative, the creative unions, the bodies of peoples control, and other associations of working people, as V. I. Lenin put it, that are the aids of the party, constant and dedicated. The importance of them as an indispensable part of the political system and an important channel for enlisting the working people in administering the affairs of the society is especially increased under developed socialism.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution accords to the social organizations a prominent place; it enhances their authority and significance in the political system; they are now given the right to take part in resolving political, economic, and social-cultural issues, the right of legislative initiative. This is one more clear proof of the fact that the state of the whole people takes account of the interests of all social segments and groups in the population.

The ideas of thoroughgoing, profound, genuinely people's democratism inherent in a state of the whole people suffuse all the sections of the draft of the USSR Constitution "...The main thrust of the new content in the draft constitution," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, "is the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy."

The essence of socialist democracy consists of enlisting the broadest possible masses of working people to take active part in resolving state and social affairs. All of the most important issues of the country's political, economic, social, and cultural life are discussed and resolved in this country with the broadest and most direct participation of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. The democratism of a socialist society is

clearly embodied in the multifaceted activities of the soviets--the political basis of our state of the whole people.

Comrade deputies! The draft of the new constitution presents a profound characterization of the economic system of the country. It is essential to emphasize that the draft retains the fundamental stipulation that the basis of the USSR's economic system is the socialist ownership of the means of production. The basic form of socialist ownership is state ownership, as the common property of all the Soviet people. The state protects socialist property and creates conditions multiplying it; it promotes the development of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership and its rapprochement with state ownership. The constitution also confirms the right of the individual to own property, on condition that it cannot be used to extract unearned income or to the detriment of society.

Related to the vigorous growth of our socialist economy is the draft constitution's inclusion of new important constitutional provisions which stipulate the economic role of the socialist state. This primarily involves the draft's stipulation that the USSR's economy constitutes an integrated national-economy complex encompassing all links of social production, distribution, and exchange within the country.

For the first time, the draft constitution includes the stipulation that the highest goal of social production under socialism is that of fully meeting the rising material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people.

The draft constitution also stipulates such an important principle of socialist economy as the reconciliation of a planned, centralized management with the economic independence and initiative of enterprises and associations.

All the basic principles of the USSR's economic system, as stipulated in the draft of the new USSR Constitution, are aimed at insuring the further steady economic progress of our society, at creating maximally favorable conditions for the full emergence of the creative capabilities of the Soviet people in the main sphere of man's activity--the sphere of social production--and for making labor the prime need of life.

The draft of the new constitution, compared with the one now in effect, contains a new chapter: "Social Development and Culture."

The significance of this chapter of the draft constitution consists in confirming the fact that the Soviet state promotes the strengthening of the social homogeneity of society, the elimination of substantial differences between cities and villages, mental and physical labor; also the further development and rapprochement of all nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union--that is, it creates favorable social and cultural prerequisites for realizing the party's program-oriented goals--the consolidation of communist social relations and the shaping of the new man.

The draft constitution comments that the state is concerned for the development of public education, science, and art, for improving the working and living conditions of citizens, for raising the real income of working people consistent with increased labor productivity.

All nations and nationalities in our country, having voluntarily united in an integrated, powerful union, to an equal extent enjoy the rights to the development of their culture, including the possibility of going to school in their native language, as stipulated in the draft of the USSR Constitution.

Comrade deputies! Section 2 of the draft constitution, as you know, is entitled "The State and the Individual." The provisions of this section prove that in Soviet society man's labor, interests, well being and happiness are placed above all else. In addition to proclaiming the general principle of citizens' equality, the draft constitution deepens, develops, and expands stipulations concerning the specific rights and freedoms of citizens, also their duties.

One of the most important characteristics of the draft of the new constitution is its close link to life, the genuine guarantee and unconditional implementation of those provisions that are stipulated in it. Thus, the draft of the new constitution is not confined to proclaiming the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens but focuses major attention on guarantees to these rights. This is characteristic only of a socialist society. As is well known, bourgeois constitutions--far from guaranteeing--do not even proclaim such rights.

Consider, for example, the constitution of the United States of America, and you will see that it says not one word about man's right to work, rest, an education, or medical care. Of the 15 amendments that have been added to the constitution between 1791 and 1967, not one deals with economic rights. And as for social rights, it has nothing to say.

The Soviet citizen is well aware that the stipulation concerning his right to work is not an empty phrase but rather a genuine possibility for getting a job, consistent with his skills, qualifications, and practical experience. In our country, unemployment has long been unknown. Moreover, the constantly developing planned national economy of the Soviet Union requires a constant influx of a great number of workers in all professions, and the Soviet people know that throughout the vast territory of the USSR there is always a place to employ their energies, powers, and capabilities.

The draft of the new constitution provides a much fuller formulation than formerly of the rights and freedoms of the Soviet people. Above all, they freely and broadly exercise their right to vote. It is sufficient to note that in the recent elections to local Soviets of Workers Deputies 99.99 percent of the voters in the republic voted--that is, essentially all voters.

These elections constituted an embodiment of the unshakeable unity of the party and the people. As always, they culminated in the full and complete victory of a tested bloc of party members and nonparty members; they once more clearly and convincingly demonstrated the advantages of socialist democracy, which assures genuine people's rule, implemented in all spheres of Soviet social life.

The broad rights to vote enjoyed by Soviet citizens serve as the source of the political involvement of the working people. This is evidenced by the changes that have been introduced into the election system: in the constitution now in force, only persons having reached the age of 23 could be elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet, or 21 years in the case of the supreme soviets of the union republics; the draft of the new constitution confers this right on all citizens above the age of 18. This is convincing proof of society's concern for the younger generation, its trust in young people.

Evidence of genuine people's rule is our country's entrenched tradition of consulting with the people on the most vital aspects of social and economic life in Soviet society.

A clear example of this is the current nationwide discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution.

Already more than 3,000 meetings and rallies have been held in the republic, attended by 325,000 persons; more than 14,500 persons have given speeches. In these meetings, the working people unanimously approve the domestic and foreign policies of the party; they warmly support the draft of the new constitution and they are making businesslike proposals and comments, criticizing shortcomings. Hundreds of letters are being sent to newspapers, to radio and television stations. Every day in the pages of republic, oblast, and rayon newspapers, on television and radio, under the rubrics "The Fundamental Law of Our Life," "Nationwide Approval," appear workers and kolkhoz members, party and soviet workers, and representatives of the intelligentsia; unanimously approving this most important historic document, aimed at expanding and deepening socialist democracy, they cite clear examples from their own lives, from the lives of their working comrades, which, like the sun on drops of dew, reflect the magnitude of the changes that have taken place in the Land of the Soviets, graphically and convincingly disclose the great advantages of the soviet system.

The socialist state of the whole people guarantees to its citizens the inviolability of the individual and the high dignity of the Soviet citizen; this testifies to the great humanitarianism of the Soviet way of life, our socialist structure. Only our socialist state can safeguard the interests of the individual with all its power. At the same time, the individual takes upon himself voluntarily, on the strength of his convictions, the most honored civic duty--that of being worthy of his state. This stipulation of the constitution convincingly unmasks the falsehood of the propaganda campaign that has been launched in the West with regard to alleged "violations" of individual rights in socialist countries.

Naturally, great rights presume high duties on the part of Soviet citizens. "It is essential," remarked Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU, "that every Soviet citizen clearly understand that the main guarantee of his rights in the long run is the power and prosperity of his homeland. And for this, every citizen must sense his responsibility to society, must conscientiously carry out his duties to the state and the people."

For this reason, the draft of the new constitution emphasizes the citizen's duty to work honorably and conscientiously, to defend his socialist homeland. Also acquiring the nature of a constitutional requirement is the duty to defend the interests of the Soviet state, to promote the maintenance of social order, to struggle with the embezzlement and waste of social property, to protect the environment and conserve its resources, to be concerned for the protection of cultural values. The draft constitution also makes it essential to be concerned for the education of children, to raise them to be worthy members of socialist society. It is the international duty of Soviet citizens to promote the development of friendship and cooperation with peoples of other countries, to support and strengthen world peace.

Comrade deputies! The further strengthening of socialist legality and law and order is precisely defined in the draft constitution. In recent years, the CC CPSU and the Soviet state have done considerable work to improve Soviet laws, to create firm guarantees against any kind of violations of citizens' rights or bureaucratic malfeasance. Work is now underway on issuing a summary of the laws of the Soviet state; this will help to enhance the stability of all our law and order. It will make Soviet laws more accessible to all Soviet citizens.

The draft constitution, more or less summarizing all our laws, emphasizes that compliance with the constitution and the laws is the duty of all state authorities and officials, social organizations, and citizens. A special role in this matter is assigned to the soviets, from the Supreme Soviet down to the rural soviet.

Comrade deputies! It is with a special sense of pride that we note that the draft of the new constitution fully retains the time-tested basic features of the federative structure of the USSR. The friendship among peoples that has developed in our country, for the first time in human history, has set an example of new relationships among nations and nationalities, revealed the great vitality and humanitarianism of Lenin's legacies.

The draft constitution emphasizes that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an integrated, unified multinational state, formed as a result of the free self-determination of nations and voluntary union of equal Soviet socialist republics. The USSR embodies the state unity of the Soviet people; it rallies all nations and nationalities together for purposes of jointly building communism.



The working people of our republic note with profound satisfaction that the equality of nations in the Land of the Soviets is not merely juridical but also actual. All the Soviet republics, including those who were formerly backward in terms of social-economic and cultural aspects, among them Kirgiziya, thanks to the concern of Lenin's party, the mutual aid of the fraternal peoples, have now achieved a high level of development. The economy of every republic has been transformed into an inseparable part of the integrated national-economy complex of the country.

The working people of our republic, like all the Soviet people, warmly approve the provisions of the draft constitution which have the goal of strengthening and developing Lenin's principles of the nationality policy of the CPSU.

The draft of this constitution, like the 1936 Constitution, points out that the sovereign rights of the union republics are safeguarded by the USSR. The union republics, represented by their higher bodies of state authority, are given the right of legislative initiative. The constitution stipulates the republic's right to take part in the resolution of issues within the jurisdiction of the USSR by union bodies.

It is with a sense of great satisfaction that the workers of Kirgiziya contemplate the draft constitution's stipulations concerning the on-going rapprochement of nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union and the necessity, in connection with this logical phenomenon, of strengthening the union principles of the state. People of the republic warmly and unanimously approve these exceptionally important stipulations of the draft constitution, because they reflect the vitality of the party's Leninist nationalities policy, aimed at providing a genuinely democratic reconciliation of the common interests of the multinational union with the interests of every one of its constituent republics. This insures the all-round flourishing and steady rapprochement of all nations and nationalities in our country, a goal toward which the Kirgiz people are striving together with all the peoples of the Land of the Soviets.

In expressing the opinion and thoughts of all deputies and working people of the republic, I should like to declare triumphantly today that we will devote all our efforts to strengthening our integrated, unified state--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the unshakeable friendship of the fraternal peoples of the Land of the Soviets.

Comrade deputies! Section 4 of the draft constitution "Soviets of Peoples Deputies and Procedures for Electing Them" outlines the principle activities of the soviets; democratic principles governing the formation and activities of the soviets are further developed.

The soviets today constitute an integrated, all-encompassing organization of people, representing all the country's population; they have become a school of administration for the broadest masses of working people; many tens of millions of Soviet people have taken part. Working in the soviets

are representatives of all classes and social segments, all nations and nationalities of the country. All it takes to be convinced of this is to cite data concerning our republic. Out of 340 deputies in the republic's Supreme Soviet there are 95 workers, 80 kolkhoz members, and 119 women; represented are people of 14 nationalities. In the June elections to local soviets, a total of 26,392 deputies were elected, including 41.4 percent workers, 27.5 percent peasants, 42.6 percent party members, 57.4 percent nonparty members, and 49.8 percent women. Some 54 nationalities are represented among the deputies of local soviets.

The rights of the soviets on all levels--especially the local soviets--are considerably expanded. In particular, the constitution stipulates a fundamentally important provision that local Soviets of Peoples Deputies are to handle not only all problems of local significance but also implement the decisions of higher-level state bodies, also take part in discussing issues of republic and union-wide significance and make proposals concerning them.

A special chapter entitled "The Peoples Deputy" defines the legal status of deputies on all levels. It formulates the most important provisions stipulating the rights and duties of deputies and guarantees of deputy activity.

Comrade deputies! In the draft of the new constitution, for the first time, special chapters deal with the Soviet Union's peace-loving Leninist foreign policy and the defense of the socialist homeland. This once more reflects the very essence of the socialist structure, which has no other goals than to be concerned for the interests of the people. Above all this concerns the struggle against war--that greatest evil of mankind, as V. I. Lenin put it--against the dangerous fabrications of the aggressive circles of imperialism.

The new constitution embodies the great principles by which the Soviet state is guided in implementing its foreign policies. The goal of the foreign policy course of action of our country is primarily the struggle for peace, for eliminating all forms of national and social oppression, for the genuine rights of all people, cooperation among all nations of the globe in the interests of world peace and social progress, confirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states having different social structures. The Soviet people are immeasurably gratified that our state, whose banners have now for six decades proudly proclaimed Lenin's words "Peace to the Nations," is the unshakeable bulwark and standard bearer of peace on earth.

Of especially great importance are the stipulations of the constitution concerning the defense of the socialist homeland. To be a patriot of the socialist homeland, ready to defend it, is the sacred duty of every Soviet citizen.

Comrade deputies! The adoption of a new constitution, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev remarked, will be of exceptionally great importance to the country. Implementation of its provisions should enhance all our state and economic

activity, all the work of the bodies of authority and administration; it will make it possible for millions of Soviet people to become even more actively involved in economic administration and supervision over the work of the state apparatus.

The constitution will serve as a basis for further perfecting Soviet legislation. On this basis, it will be necessary to draw up and approve new constitutions for the union and autonomous republics, including a Kirgiz SSR Constitution.

In connection with this, the CC CP Kirgiziya and the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet are submitting for discussion by the current session of the Supreme Soviet a proposal to set up a commission to prepare a draft Kirgiz SSR Constitution, and its membership. This will have in view that the draft that is prepared by the commission will be published in January 1978 for extensive discussion, and during the first quarter of the same year it will be reviewed at an extraordinary session of the Kirgiz SSR Supreme Soviet.

In connection with a decision of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the USSR State Hymn, work is presently underway in this republic on editing the Kirgiz SSR State Hymn.

Comrades! The new constitution should serve to considerably improve the activities of all bodies responsible for strict compliance with the requirements of Soviet laws. This refers to the procurator's offices, the courts, arbitration agencies, and other administrative agencies and people's control.

The party expects all these bodies to show even greater initiative, adherence to principles, and steadfastness in efforts to combat any disruptions of Soviet law and order.

The significance of the adoption of the new USSR Constitution goes far beyond the bounds of our homeland. It will demonstrate to the whole world how our socialist state is developing, the essence of socialist democracy; it will demonstrate the variety of forms and the enormous scope of the constantly increasing genuine participation of the broad masses of people in administering the affairs of the state and society.

Adoption of the new constitution will be of enormous significance for strengthening the positions of the forces of socialism, peace, and progress in the international arena. It will unquestionably enrich the storehouse of experience of world socialism; it will set an inspirational example for the struggle for liberation among working people abroad.

Comrade deputies! The increased tasks of the building of communism set forth by the 25th CPSU Congress and the nationwide upsurge evoked by the decisions of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU and preparations for the jubilee of October require strengthening of the role and responsibility of party and soviet

bodies in all the economic and spiritual life of society, increasing the labor and political involvement of the masses. This is the job of all party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations.

In his speech on 17 June of this year in the Kremlin, at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev pointed out that the decision of the May Plenum of the CC CPSU to combine the posts of CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is by no means a merely formal act. The plenum's decision makes profound political sense.

It is above all, Leonid Il'ich emphasized, a manifestation of the constant rise in the guiding role of the CPSU, which constitutes the nucleus of our whole political system... Acting within the framework of the Soviet Constitution, the CPSU, as the ruling party, has defined and will continue to define the political line in resolving all key issues of state life.

The decisions of the plenum and the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will bring about an increased role of the soviets. The CPSU, Leonid Il'ich went on to remark, has always proceeded on the basis that any of our soviets forms a part of supreme authority, it is not only invested with the powers to resolve all issues relating to its jurisdiction but also emerges as the vehicle of national decisions. Such unity between higher and local bodies, the investment of supreme authority in local initiative, reflects the main essence of the soviets--their inseparable link to the masses of the people.

Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev went on to point out that "the soviets constitute a vital, mobile, constantly self-renovating organization of people. Just as at one time they managed to unify in the common mainstream the revolutionary movement of the masses, and their efforts in the building of socialism, so now, under conditions of mature socialism, the work of the soviets must even more fully incorporate the struggle to increase production effectiveness, to implement the party's broad social program, to develop all aspects of our socialist democracy--that is, to resolve the tasks of the building of communism."

In all our practical work we must proceed on the basis of these directives of CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

Above all, comrade deputies, the soviets now face a job of considerable scope and significance, relating to the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution. The decree adopted by the CC CPSU "Measures Relating to the Nationwide Discussion of the Draft of the USSR Constitution" sets forth the specific tasks of party and also soviet bodies. The soviets are obliged to take active part in organizing extensive agitation-propaganda efforts in explaining the draft of the new constitution and the statements and conclusions set forth in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the Plenum of the CC CPSU and his speech at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR

Supreme Soviet on 17 May of this year. This important matter must enlist the efforts of all deputies, workers of cultural-educational institutions, our intelligentsia, and the broadest possible active membership. Discussion and explanation of the draft constitution must be organized both in the labor collectives and near people's place of residence. In short, these efforts must involve all the adult population of the republic. The draft of the new constitution and the tasks of the soviets deriving from Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the May Plenum of the CC CPSU must also be discussed in sessions of all local soviets in the republic. It is essential to take account of all proposals and comments made by working people, to undertake efficient and prompt measures to eliminate shortcomings that they may justifiably point out in the course of discussing the draft constitution.

Now, the main efforts of bodies of state authority in the republic must be focused on completing the targets and socialist obligations of the current year of the five-year plan in all spheres of economic and social-cultural development. The soviets possess great possibilities for handling their assigned tasks. They constitute an enormous power. There are 456 local soviets functioning in the republic, incorporating more than 320,000 deputies and activists.

Socialist competition is now underway everywhere to provide a worthy greeting to the 60th anniversary of Great October, and it is essential everywhere to support the political and labor involvement of the masses of people in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. It is extremely essential to see to it that the Soviet people, profoundly realizing their rights and guarantees of them, understand ever more clearly that the main guarantee depends on the people themselves, on their execution of their duties.

The soviets must diligently support and develop the labor and political involvement of the masses, aimed at providing a worthy greeting to the 60th anniversary of Great October.

Today in Kirgiziya, socialist competition under the slogan "Work Better, Improve the Effectiveness and Quality of the Work!" encompasses about 800,000 persons. The results of intensive labor during the first half year in the plants and mills, in the fields and on the farms of Kirgiziya, demonstrate that a good deal has been done.

The collectives of the republic's industrial enterprises fulfilled the half-year target ahead of schedule--on 28 June--with respect to the sales volume and production of most types of industrial goods. Goods worth 19 million rubles were sold over and above plan. The efforts of industrial workers were aimed primarily toward improving the effectiveness of social production and the quality of the goods being produced. As a result, the volume of goods produced bearing the Emblem of Quality rose by more than 40 percent since the beginning of the year.

At the same time, however, some ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations have lagged considerably behind in fulfilling plans and obligations. As before, this is entirely applicable to the ministries of construction, rural construction, automotive transport and highways, meat and dairy industry, the Kirgizelektrodvigatel' [Kirgiz Electric Engine] and Torgmash [Trade System Machinery] plants, Vtorchermet [Secondary Ferrous Metals Processing Association], the Tsentral'naya and Dzhergalan mines, and the whole city of Sulyukta. Since the beginning of the year, some 46 enterprises--14.2 percent of the total number--have failed to fulfill the sales plan. These enterprises have sold goods in the amount of 14.8 million rubles below the plan.

It is essential now that all labor collectives in industrial enterprises analyze the course of fulfillment of state targets, eliminate shortcomings in the organization of labor and production and the supplying of material resources, strive to comprehensively improve production effectiveness and quality indicators, and mobilize all efforts to unconditionally fulfill the socialist obligations of the jubilee year.

Significant successes have been achieved in capital construction. During the first half, 265 million rubles of state capital investments were spent in the republic, construction organizations completed contract work worth 221 million rubles. A raw hides plant went into operation in Frunze, also facilities of the At' Bashinskiy Pedigree Poultry Farm, and a number of other facilities. The republic's Ministry of Construction fulfilled the half-year plan of commissioning of housing, schools, preschool child care facilities, and hospitals, while the Ministry of Rural Construction fulfilled the sheep pen completion plan.

On the whole, however, the situation with regard to capital construction continues unsatisfactory. During the first half of this year, state construction organizations fulfilled established targets by only 95 percent, and inter-farm construction organizations fulfilled the contract work plan by only 92 percent.

The causes of the unsatisfactory performance of the construction organizations include the low level of organization of labor on projects, oversights in material-technical supply operations, and the shortage of worker cadres. More than half of the construction organizations of the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Rural Construction are failing to fulfill labor productivity plans, and they have even allowed a decline in comparison with the level achieved in the same period last year. Many construction organizations are allowing substantial nonproductive losses; the proportion of manual labor is too high, and at the same time available construction machinery is not being utilized efficiently.

Many local party and soviet bodies have tolerated the poor performance of the construction organizations; they are not getting to the bottom of their activities, they are failing to undertake effective steps to provide them with specific, daily aid. More attention must be focused on upgrading

the diligence of the primary party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations of construction projects, and the vanguard role of party members and Komsomol members. It is essential to make more diligent and energetic efforts to resolve problems of training and placing construction worker cadres.

Comrades! The republic's farm workers have done pretty good work in the period just past. The selfless labor of our sheep raisers has yielded excellent results: every 100 female breeding sheep have produced 98 lambs, three lambs more than last year. This year, a total of 3.827 million head of young cattle were produced.

Purchase plans of livestock and poultry, milk and eggs have been fulfilled. Let us hope that the republic's sheep raisers will fulfill the wool purchase plans this year.

At the same time, in a number of farming regions in the southern part of the republic and the Chuyskaya Valley, the hot, dry spring this year had a devastating effect on the raising the grain crops on dry farm lands; it led to a decline in the crop yields of annual and perennial grasses; in connection with this, it is essential to implement well-organized measures and to harvest cereal grain crops rapidly, not allowing the slightest losses. Some of the silage corn ought to be converted to grain corn and its area expanded to 34,000 hectares in order to make up the shortage in the overall grain crop.

Special attention must be focused on the maintenance of row crops. This is especially so inasmuch as compared with 1976 the condition of the cotton, sugar beets and other crops is lagging somewhat in development.

It is essential to bend every effort to see to it that livestock operations are provided with enough feeds. As a result of abundant recent precipitation, in many mountain rayons of the republic excellent stands of grass and hay have developed. All of this must be utilized to the maximum; a survey of the hay areas must be made once more in all the rayons; it is essential to organize protection for them and to mow the grasses on all such land sections.

The republic's workers must also be especially diligent in efforts to eliminate the consequences of natural disasters.

You are aware, comrades, that powerful downpours and mudslides that recently befell some cities, settlements, villages, and fields in Oshskaya Oblast did considerable damage to our national economy.

Considerable destruction took place, along with the loss of human lives. But you know, comrades, that the party, the Soviet government, and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally have manifested fatherly concern for eliminating the consequences of the natural disaster. In a telegram to the republic's working people, the CC CPSU and the USSR Council of Ministers expressed profound sympathy in connection with this disaster.

The republic has been allocated additional standard buildings, machinery, equipment, cable items, cement, lumber, and other materials in order to carry out construction, repair, and restoration work relating to eliminating the consequences of natural disasters. Large amounts of state funds have been appropriated for major and current repairs to housing, administrative buildings, cultural and service facilities, and other nonproduction facilities that suffered from the natural disaster. Workers from neighboring rayons in the oblast, the fraternal republics, and servicemen of the Soviet army have come to the aid of the victims of the city of Kyzyl-Kiya and the rayons.

Such concern and consideration is possible only under socialism, and it is for this reason that one of the stipulations of the draft of the new constitution resounds so convincing and genuinely vital, stating that our society is "a society whose law of life is the concern of all for the well being of each and the concern of each for the well being of all."

Allow me in the name of all the working people of Kirgiziya to express heartfelt gratitude to the CC CPSU, the Soviet government, Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally, and all the fraternal peoples of our country for the enormous, genuinely priceless aid being given to the republic in eliminating the consequences of the natural disaster.

Comrade deputies! Nationwide discussion of the draft constitution will unquestionably constitute an impressive review of the achievements of the world's first socialist country, a great celebration of socialist democracy, and new proof of the unshakeable solidarity of the Soviet people around the party and its Leninist Central Committee.

The new USSR Constitution will be adopted during the year of the 60th anniversary of Great October. This is profoundly symbolic, because what is recorded in the draft constitution represents the glorious results of the great socialist revolution, the embodiment of the ideas of October, the ideas of great Lenin.

Now, all our vast country is preparing to hold a worthy celebration of the 60th anniversary of Great October and the adoption of a new USSR Constitution. Allow me in the name of all of you to assure the CC CPSU, its Politburo, and CC CPSU General Secretary and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally that the working people of Soviet Kirgiziya, filled with creative inspiration, strength, and energy, broadly involved in nationwide competition, will achieve new labor victories for the sake of the further strengthening of their Soviet state of the whole people, for the sake of the triumph of communism.

(Comrade T. U. Usubaliyev's report was listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted with loud, prolonged applause).



SOLOMENTSEV REPORT TO RSFSR SUPREME SOVIET

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Jul 77 pp 1, 2 LD

[Apparent text of report by M. S. Solomentsev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, at 20 July RSFSR Supreme Soviet session: "On the USSR Draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) and the Tasks of RSFSR Soviets of Working People's Deputies Arising From the Report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) Plenum"]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies:

The current session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has met in an atmosphere of great political and labor enthusiasm evoked by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May plenum and the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution.

The republic Supreme Soviet is to discuss the draft of the new constitution and the tasks of soviets of working people's deputies arising from the report by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the party Central Committee May plenum.

It is profoundly significant that the new constitution is being adopted in the 60th anniversary jubilee year of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It crowns the results of the revolutionary transformations and majestic creative work performed by the Soviet people under the leadership of the party of Lenin.

A document of enormous political significance--the world's first constitution of a developed socialist society--has been submitted for discussion by all the people. It legislatively consolidates the foundations of the sociopolitical and economic system, the chief goals of communist building, the principles of the foreign and domestic policies of the CPSU, and the extensive rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens.

There is not a single sphere of social life, or any major question of the organization and activity of our state, which is not reflected in the draft of the USSR fundamental law.

The new constitution--the fourth in the history of the Soviet state--is characterized by a considerate and attentive attitude to accumulated experience and, at the same time, by a bold, creative approach to the resolution of tasks set by life. It maintains and develops the characteristic features of a constitution of the socialist type which were outlined by Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, and thereby expresses the continuity of constitutional development. This historic document completely reveals and fills with new substance the basic principles of socialism, and primarily the undivided power of working people guided by the Communist Party, the supremacy of socialist public ownership, true democracy and humanism, and the international solidarity and fraternal friendship of the peoples.

The draft defines the highest goal of the Soviet state--the building of a classless communist society. It indicates the main tasks of the state: the creation of the material and technical base of communism, the improvement of socialist social relations and their transformation into communist social relations, the education of the new person, the raising of working people's living standards, the insuring of the country's security, and the strengthening of peace and international cooperation.

The most important precondition of the creation of the new draft constitution was the fruitful theoretical activity of the party in recent years, which has enriched Marxist-Leninist theory with new conclusions and provisions. The elaboration of the scientific concept of developed socialism, which armed the Soviet people with a clear program of further struggle for communism, was of particular significance. The draft of the new constitution also embodies the all-round practical experience accumulated by our party in the leadership of a mature socialist society.

In the course of preparing the draft constitution, the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the party Central Committee, performed work which was tremendous in scale and significance.

The new draft constitution was unanimously approved by the CPSU Central Committee May plenum. There is outstanding significance in the report by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the Central Committee plenum--a report all of whose provisions are being adopted as a guide to action by party, soviet and economic organs, and working people in the RSFSR. The working class, peasantry and intelligentsia of the republic, together with the entire Soviet people, express wholehearted support for the draft of the new fundamental law, which is rightly described as the charter of developed socialism.

Comrades: The CPSU Central Committee May plenum deemed it expedient for Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the party Central Committee, to occupy simultaneously the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The USSR Supreme Soviet at its sixth session elected Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The working people of the RSFSR, as of all the fraternal republics, have most profoundly welcomed these decisions, which accord with the highest interests of the Soviet society and state. They express nationwide recognition of the tremendous services of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev--that most authoritative and esteemed leader of our country and outstanding figure of the world communist movement. The remarkable personal qualities and selfless labor of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev have earned him the love and respect of the entire people.

The name of Leonid Il'ich is naturally linked by the Soviet people with the successes in the domestic and foreign policies of the party and Soviet state, and with the achievements in realizing the social and economic program of the CPSU, strengthening the defense might of the USSR and consolidating peace and international security.

The combination of work by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the highest posts of the party and state leadership of our country will serve to further raise the guiding and directing role of the party, to strengthen the Soviet state and to increase the authority of the soviets, will have a beneficial effect on the consolidation of the international positions of the USSR, and will be conducive to new successes in fulfilling the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and in building communism.

The party committee plenums, soviet sessions and meetings of working people which have been held in oblasts, krays and autonomous republics, have expressed heartfelt approval for the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session. They were a vivid and stirring demonstration of the boundless trust of the Soviet people in their own Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

I think that I express the common opinion of all the participants in the session in conveying on your behalf and on behalf of the millions of voters and all the citizens of the RSFSR heartfelt and sincere congratulations to Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in connection with his election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

We all wish dear Leonid Il'ich sound health and great new successes in his multifarious activities for the benefit of communism and peace in the world!

Comrades! The report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the CPSU Central Committee May plenum provides profound scientific substantiation of the need to adopt the new constitution.

A developed socialist society has been built in the USSR. Major fundamental changes have affected all aspects of social life and first and foremost the economy--that most important sphere of human activity. Mighty production forces have been created, and a unified powerful national economic organism, which is developing on the basis of the combination of the scientific and technical revolution, and the advantages of the socialist system, has been formed and is operating successfully in our country.

There has also been a substantial change in the country's social complexion. "The common denominator of all these changes," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has said, "is the growing social homogeneity of Soviet society. The indestructible alliance of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia has become even more durable. The differences between the main social groups are gradually disappearing. All the nations and nationalities of our country are increasingly converging through the very movement of their lives. A new historical community of people--the Soviet people--has been formed."

The successes of the socialist social system in the USSR are inseparably linked with the activity of the CPSU. The party of Lenin is the directing, organizing and mobilizing force of our society. The entire history of the Soviet state graphically demonstrates that the party exists for the people and serves the people.

Studying the draft constitution, the Soviet people can again see for themselves that the party consistently expresses their vital interests. Its policy is notable for its strictly scientific nature, revolutionary innovation, selfless service of the interests of the Soviet people, consistent internationalism and unshakeable loyalty to the principles of Marxist-Leninism. As the nucleus of the political system of society and of all state and public organizations, the Communist Party determines the general perspective of the development of the country and the domestic and foreign policy line of the USSR, leads the great creative activity of the Soviet people, and invests their struggle for the triumph of communism with a planned and scientifically based nature. The party of communists is supported by the inexhaustible creative potential of the masses, who see it as their militant tested vanguard.

The working people of the RSFSR, as of all the fraternal union republics, unanimously approve the enshrinement in the fundamental law of the guiding role of the Communist Party, which completely accords with the objective law-governed features of developed socialist society. Voicing their heartfelt approval of this principled provision of the constitution, the Soviet people express their loyalty to the ideals of the party--the ideals of communism.

The draft completely and clearly describes the main features of the Soviet political system and the fact of the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the power of the whole people. The transformation of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the state of the whole people was possible by virtue of the complete victory and all-round development of socialism, and the transition of all the classes and social strata of Soviet society to the ideological and political positions of the working class. The present-day Soviet state expresses the current sociopolitical and ideological unity, and the common will and interests of the working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia, and of all the nationalities of our country. This is a new and higher stage in the development of socialist statehood.

The most important feature of the socialist system is consistent democracy which permeates the entire tenor of life of our society. The main direction of the new content of the draft constitution, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev noted at the CPSU Central Committee May plenum, is the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy.

The most complete expression of the democratic nature of our society and the cornerstone of the system of people's power are the soviets, which form the political basis of the USSR. "Soviet power," Vladimir Il'ich Lenin has said, "is the path to socialism discovered by the masses of working people, and that is the reason why it is correct and invincible." The articles in the draft which deal with the soviets of people's deputies embody under present-day conditions Lenin's idea that socialism and democracy are indivisible.

The soviets today influence all aspects of social life. Their activities organically combine general state leadership with the fulfillment of specific economic, educational and organizational functions connected with the essential interests of working people. In their everyday work, the soviets insure the realization of constitutional rights and freedoms, whose substance is enriched by the fulfillment of socioeconomic and cultural development programs.

The soviets of working people's deputies are the most mass-based form of state power. In the course of the recent RSFSR elections, 1,116,000 local soviet deputies were elected. The composition of the deputies also testifies to the genuinely popular nature of soviet power. Two-thirds of them are workers and kolkhoz members, more than 42 percent are members or candidate members of the CPSU, more than 50 percent are women and about one-third are young people up to 30 years of age.

The deputies include leading workers in industrial and agricultural production, teachers, doctors, scientific personnel and party, soviet and economic workers who worthily represent all the classes, social strata, nations and nationalities of our republic.

The soviets are supported by broad circles of working people, and impart to them the skills of management of the affairs of state. About 1.5 million activists participate in the work of RSFSR soviet permanent commissions alone.

In the course of the nationwide discussion there is support everywhere for the sections of the draft constitution which envisage the further development of the democratic principles of the formation and activities of the soviets, and the enhancement of their role in resolving the most important questions of the life of society. "The Communist Party," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 17 June USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, "has always proceeded on the basis that any soviet of ours is a part of supreme power, and that it is not only empowered to decide all questions related to its competence but also acts as an implementer of statewide decisions."

The local soviets will now be able not only more effectively to decide questions of local significance but also, within the limits of their authority, will be able even more actively to coordinate and control the activities of other organizations in their territory. This will contribute to the comprehensive and harmonious development of each oblast, autonomous republic and kray and each city and village.

The soviets are called on to exercise systematic control over the activities of executive and administrative organs, and to take into account the sum total of social factors, requirements, and interests of working people.

Under the conditions of mature socialism, such a characteristic feature of socialist democracy as the participation of working people in the management of the affairs of the country via public organizations is manifested increasingly fully. The draft of the new constitution enshrines the growing authority and activeness of the trade unions, Komsomol and cooperative and other mass organizations.

The expansion and deepening of socialist democracy in the sphere of production is acquiring particular significance at the current stage. The draft envisages more active participation by working people's collectives in the management of enterprises and associations, and the use of funds designated for the development of production and also for social and cultural needs and material incentives.

This important provision of the draft is based on the rich experience currently available. It includes the work of permanent production conferences, the practice of concluding collective contracts, extensive socialist competition, the mass movement of rationalizers and inventors, and the activities of scientific and technical societies. Participating in this work, working people make a big contribution to the improvement of production and labor and leisure conditions, and also to the creation of healthy fraternal relations in production collectives.

The draft constitution convincingly reveals the humanist essence of Soviet society and concern for the all-round development of the individual. Under the conditions of mature socialism, the prophetic words of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party"--"the free development of each is a condition of the free development of all"--are filled with increasingly profound substance. The party and Soviet state proceed on the basis that further progress in any sphere of social life assumes the constant creative growth of the person--the builder of communism.

The Soviet people consider extensive rights and freedoms natural, including the guaranteed right to participate in the management of state and public affairs. The right to vote and to be elected to representative organs of power, the right to submit proposals on improving the activities of state institutions and public organizations and to criticize shortcomings in their work, are among the democratic rights which are fully reflected in articles of the draft of the new USSR Constitution.

It shows well the interdependence of the political and socioeconomic rights of the Soviet person, and their organic link with the increase in the real potential of our society. A characteristic example can be seen in the further development of that important human right, the right to work. The draft of the new constitution not only enshrines and guarantees it, but also extends it by including the right to choice of profession or kind of occupation and work in accordance with vocation, abilities, professional training and education, and with consideration for social requirements.

The right to housing will be a new constitutional right for citizens of the USSR. It is backed up by the consistent implementation of the state program of housing construction. The draft constitution enshrines the right of citizens to a state health service. The right to material provision in old age and in the event of sickness, the full or partial loss of capacity to work or the loss of a bread winner has been widened. Right now this right extends not only to workers and employees but also to kolkhoz members.

An essential feature of the draft, the unity of the rights and obligations of Soviet citizens, is being greeted with heartfelt approval. Every Soviet citizen is aware that the might of the socialist motherland--whose strengthening is promoted by the high consciousness and discipline of citizens and their irreproachable fulfillment of their social duty--is the necessary guarantee of his rights. It is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR to defend the socialist homeland.

The numerous responses from working people stress that each citizen is called on to guard the interests of society, to increase political vigilance, strictly to obey the established norms and rules of socialist intercourse, and to observe Soviet laws--the most humane in the world. Citizens' enjoyment of rights and freedoms must not prejudice the interests of society and the state or the rights of other citizens.

Respect for the individual, and the protection of the rights and freedoms of the Soviet person, the draft constitution says, is the duty of all state organs, public organizations and officials. The guarantees of observance of legality set out in it are the outcome of the great work performed in recent years under the leadership of the party. General and strict observance of legality and of state discipline is in accord with the vital demands of developed socialist society, and is an important precondition of the successful resolution of the tasks of communist building.

Comrades! The monolithic solidarity and fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country are the outstanding achievement of the socialist system and of Leninist nationalities policy. The indestructible unity of the Soviet peoples is a great achievement of real socialism. The entire experience of communist building graphically confirms the correctness of the policy carried out by the party and Soviet state for the genuinely democratic combination of the common interests of the multinational union with the interests of each of its component republics.

This policy also demonstrates great vitality within the RSFSR, where more than 100 nations and nationalities live and work. The RSFSR, as is known, is made up of 16 autonomous republics, 5 autonomous oblasts and 10 national okrugs.

The peoples of the formerly backward outlying districts of the tsarist empire have traveled a gigantic path in their development in the years of Soviet power. In a united fraternal family, and with the aid of the Russian people, they have mastered the achievements of modern production, science and culture in a short historical period. The successes of the national republics, oblasts and okrugs of the RSFSR in the sphere of economic and cultural building, and the growth of material prosperity, could be an object of envy for not only young states, but also many others with a long history of industrial development. Since the adoption of the current constitution alone, the total volume of industrial production in the autonomous republics has increased 37 times; that is, it has increased at a more rapid pace than throughout the RSFSR as a whole. What would take centuries under different conditions is accomplished in decades in our country.

The solidarity and monolithic nature of the Soviet people are being intensified at the stage of developed socialism. They are firmly based on the equality--not only in law but also in fact--of all nations and nationalities. Each republic is a component part of that single great whole called the Soviet Union. The success of the entire cause of communist building is shaped by the efforts of each member of our fraternal family. That is why the Soviet people wholeheartedly support the provisions enshrined in the draft of the new constitution which, along with insuring the sovereign rights of the union republics, are aimed at further consolidating our great union.

Educated in the spirit of the Leninist principles of internationalism, the working people of the RSFSR, like all the Soviet people, are proud of the historic achievements of the multinational socialist motherland. They completely share and support the party line on the further prosperity and rapprochement of the nations and nationalities of the land of the Soviets.

Allow me, comrade deputies, to assure the Communist Party Central Committee on your behalf that the working people of our republic are doing all they can to insure that the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country--friendship which is the guarantee of the might of the Soviet state and of new successes for it--continues to strengthen.

Comrades! The publication of the draft of the new Soviet Constitution has evoked a wide response throughout the world. And this is completely natural. The USSR draft constitution vividly demonstrates the indisputable successes and advantages of socialism, the scope and effectiveness of socialist democracy, the richness and diversity of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens, and the real guarantees of their implementation. It convincingly shows the fine prospects of development of our society, which comes out before all mankind as the champion of peace, freedom, democracy and social progress.



The draft enshrines the Leninist principles of USSR foreign policy. As a component part of the world system of socialism and the socialist community, the Soviet Union builds its relations with fraternal countries on the basis of socialist internationalism. The document reflects the policy of our party and state toward insuring peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states with different social systems.

The draft constitution is a document of a profoundly party and class nature. The peoples of socialist countries, as well as communists and all our friends abroad, emphasize the worldwide and historic significance of the draft and see it as a weighty contribution to the treasury of world experience of revolutionary struggle and socialist consciousness.

Our ideological enemies, aware of the tremendous attraction of the new USSR Constitution, are striving to belittle its significance and distort the meaning of its articles. However, all these attempts are not meeting with and cannot meet with success. The fabrications of hostile propaganda look really sordid in the face of the profoundly reasoned, scientifically based and vital provisions of the draft of the new USSR fundamental law.

The new Soviet Constitution is in striking contrast with the constitutions of bourgeois states, which actually protect the system of capitalist ownership and man's exploitation of man, as well as the predominance of big monopoly capital. The words they contain about justice and democracy sound really hypocritical against the background of unemployment, inflation, property inequality, social and national oppression, and the aggressive foreign policy of imperialism.

The course of the nationwide discussion of the USSR draft constitution in our country, and foreign comments again prove the correctness of the strategic course of the Leninist party which is embodied in this outstanding document of the present day.

Comrade deputies! In the RSFSR, as in the other fraternal republics, enormous transformations have been accomplished in the economy and culture, in the field of people's prosperity and in all social life during the period since the adoption of the current constitution.

In the past 40 years, the national economy of the republic has changed beyond recognition. It is developing dynamically and at a rapid pace. A modern, developed economic structure has been created. Production capital and national income have increased 15 times. This is a weighty contribution to increasing the national wealth and strengthening the economic and defense might of our motherland.

Fundamental quantitative and qualitative improvements have occurred in the leading sector of the national economy--socialist industry. A number of new, modern production facilities have been created in it, technical standards in industry have risen incomparably, and its scale has increased substantially. The present industrial output in the RSFSR in 2 weeks alone is greater than for the whole of 1937.

Those sectors which most determine technical progress and the efficiency of the national economy are developing at preferential rates. Thus, while the volume of industrial production has increased 23 times, production of machine-building and metal-working output has increased 87 times, the production of output from the chemical and petrochemical industries 59 times and power generation 36 times.

The successes in the development of industry have made it possible to create a modern technical base to increase the production of goods in mass demand. Consumer goods production has increased 12 times compared with 1937. Production of textiles, clothing, footwear, and foodstuffs has increased substantially. Modern kinds of domestic appliances--television sets, radios, tape recorders, cameras and refrigerators--are manufactured on a wide scale.

Major socioeconomic transformations have been accomplished in the countryside. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes nowadays have high productivity equipment at their disposal. Compared with 1937, power-generating capacity in agriculture in the RSFSR has increased 11 times, the tractor fleet 4 times and the combining pool 5 times. There has been a substantial increase in supplies of mineral fertilizers, construction materials and other resources to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This has insured a progressive increase in the production of all kinds of agricultural output with a simultaneous reduction in the agricultural work force.

Labor by agricultural workers is increasingly becoming a variety of industrial labor. The social image of the peasantry has changed fundamentally, its material prosperity has improved and cultural and professional standards have risen.

The party's modern agrarian policy--in whose elaboration the CPSU Central Committee March (1956) plenum played an outstanding role--is aimed at further increasing and intensifying the production of agricultural output, and at narrowing the gap between urban and rural material, cultural, and everyday living conditions. The most important means of resolving these tasks are the strengthening in every way of the material and technical base of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the carrying out of comprehensive mechanization and chemicalization of production, wide-scale land reclamation, the development of science and the improvement of forms of organization and management.

Work has been actively carried out in recent years on the concentration and specialization of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production, interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration, and the switching of agriculture onto an industrial footing. These main avenues signify the creative development of the Leninist cooperative plan under new conditions.

More than 3,500 interfarm production enterprises and associations have already been created in the republic. Making use of the advantage of a big farm, rural workers are increasing the production of output, enhancing labor productivity and striving for savings in all kinds of expenditure.

In the past 40 years, comrades, a big construction program has been implemented. More than R940 billion in capital investments have been assigned to the development of the national economy of the RSFSR. In all sectors of the economy, large capacities have been put into operation, and a considerable number of social and cultural projects and municipal and domestic projects have been commissioned.

A modern infrastructure, including new kinds of transport and communications, has been created in the republic and is developing successfully.

Profound changes have taken place in the siting of production forces. The economy in all the economic regions of the federation has become more comprehensive and diversified. The consistent implementation of party policy on speeding up the assimilation of natural resources in Siberia and the Far East have made it possible in the past 40 years to increase their share in industrial production in the republic 1.6 times. The implementation of gigantic comprehensive programs, which are transforming vast territories of the RSFSR, has been launched on a broad front. They include programs for the development of the non-chernozem zone of Russia and Western Siberia, and the industrial development of regions adjacent to the Baykal-Amur Railroad.

The achievements in economic building have made it possible to bring about a fundamental change in the living standards and way of life of every Soviet family. The evidence of this is the growth in incomes of working people. The present average monthly salary of workers and employees in the republic is almost five times greater than in 1937 and amounts to R158.

There has been a substantial increase in the volume of material goods and a substantial improvement in their consumption structure. While commodity turnover in state and cooperative trade has increased eight-fold compared with the prewar period, the sale of the most valuable foodstuffs and industrial goods has increased 11-18 times. Nowadays, 82 percent of families have television sets, 88 percent have radios and radio-phonographs, 68 percent have refrigerators and 73 percent have washing machines.

We all note with great satisfaction, comrades, the successes in housing construction. In the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone, more new housing was commissioned than existed in the housing funds of the republic's cities in the last prewar year. Approximately 6.5 million people annually improve their housing conditions. The solution of that important social problem--the granting of a separate well-appointed apartment to each Soviet family--is becoming increasingly feasible.

Substantial progress in developing the services sphere, particularly in rural areas, has been made in recent years. An extensive network of technically equipped consumer service enterprises is being created.

Under the conditions of developed socialism, a wide circle of people's requirements is satisfied out of public funds, which Vladimir Il'ich Lenin regarded as "living shoots of genuine communism." The volume of payments

and benefits from these funds has increased 20 times compared with the prewar period. They are currently in excess of R400 per annum per head of population. Public consumption funds are one of the material bases insuring the realization of such great social achievements as the right to health protection, the right to material provision in old age and in the event of sickness, and the right to free education. These and other rights enshrined in the constitution are one of the sources of the social optimism characteristic of our society, where everybody is firmly confident in the future and in the future of his children.

"Among social tasks there is none more important than the care of the Soviet people's health," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th CPSU Congress. An army of nearly 2 million medical workers is watching over the health of the republic's population. Whereas in 1940 there were eight doctors for every 10,000 inhabitants, now there are 36. More than R6 billion are spent every year on the development of health care, which is nearly 13 times more than in the prewar period.

Today we can say with pride that socialism has immeasurably enhanced and enriched the spiritual life of the Soviet people, and has opened up broad access to knowledge for the working people. On the whole, the transition to universal secondary education has been completed, which is a tremendous social achievement. Now more than three-fourths of workers involved in agriculture have higher, secondary or incomplete secondary education. Today in the republic nearly 50 million people are involved in various types of instruction.

In the development of our society an ever increasing role is played by science. The party Central Committee attaches tremendous importance to the work of Soviet scientists. The resolution adopted this year on the activity of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences testifies to this. In it, the CPSU Central Committee determined a program of activity for scientists relating to the further development of fundamental and applied research, raising the efficiency and quality of the work of scientific research institutes, broadening ties with production and hastening the practical introduction of scientific achievements.

Soviet culture and art have a direct influence on the formation of the new man's spiritual makeup. They serve our people faithfully in the struggle for communism.

All working people have genuine possibilities to enjoy the achievements of modern culture. This right, the draft constitution stresses, is insured by the general availability of the treasures of our native and world cultures, and the development and equal distribution of cultural-educational institutions throughout the territory.

The impressive successes of the RSFSR, every fraternal republic, and the whole of the Soviet Union in the field of the economy and culture achieved when our country had to endure the severe ordeals of the war years and

overcome the difficulties of the restoration period testify to the great vitality of the socialist system and the tremendous creative capabilities of Soviet society guided by the Communist Party, Lenin's party.

In describing the results of our development, comrades, we note with a justified sense of pride the outstanding achievements in the building of the economy and culture and in all spheres of social life since the October (1964) CPSU Central Committee plenum. Thanks to the tremendous political and organizational activity of the party and its Central Committee, and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the dynamism of socialist society and its constantly growing creative capabilities have been manifested particularly forcefully in these years. During the Eighth and Ninth Five-Year Plans alone, for example, the economic potential created in the RSFSR in the preceding half-century, was practically doubled. This is a firm foundation for our further development, for the successful solution of the tasks of the building of communism.

Comrades! The publication of the new draft constitution has provoked a new burst of creative energy among the working people of the RSFSR and the entire Soviet people, and has given added scope to the socialist competition for a fitting welcome to the 60th anniversary of Great October.

These days, reports are coming in from all corners of the RSFSR on the high patriotic fervor and the efforts of working people in all sectors to achieve the successful implementation of the five-year plan targets. Competition for increased production efficiency and quality, and for smooth, well coordinated work by all enterprises has become the basis for many achievements. The movement under the slogan: "Excellent quality for Russian goods" is extending.

Socialist competition, in which tens of thousands of people are participating, is facilitating the successful fulfillment of the targets of the second year of the five-year plan.

RSFSR industry completed ahead of schedule the 6-month plan for output sales, and for the production of the majority of the most important products. The amount of industrial production for the first half of this year increased by 5.4 percent in comparison with the same period last year. The 6-month productivity target was overfulfilled.

At the same time, a lot of work remains to be done on the exposure and fuller utilization of all resources for improving production efficiency. In this context, every republic ministry and department, and every local soviet ispolkom has broad scope for activity.

It is essential to strive not only for an increase in production volume, but also for the implementation of measures for the intensification, mechanization and automation of production, for the better utilization of equipment and for an increase in output for every ruble of the fixed capital.

More attention must be paid to the questions of raising the technical standard and quality of products, considerably increasing output of top-category goods, and observing the demand of standards and technical levels. "Today," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has stressed, "it is not enough to have goods in the shops--they must be of high quality and satisfy the diverse tastes of our people."

Fulfillment of the task to transform the Tenth Five-Year Plan into the five-year plan of efficiency and quality is impossible without the strictest policy of thrift. Therefore, the rational utilization of raw and other materials, fuel and electricity must be the paramount obligation of economic organs and all enterprises, and come under the constant control of the local soviets.

Construction organizations are faced with responsible tasks. In the present year, the enormous sum of more than R60 billion has been set aside from state resources for capital construction in the republic. But it is not simply a matter of assimilating these funds, it is also important to commission all planned production and nonproduction projects within the deadlines set.

Local soviets must tighten their control over the progress of construction work. Ministries and departments must not permit material, financial or labor resources to be spread too thinly, and are called upon to strive to lower the cost and raise the quality of construction. The industrial base of construction and installation organizations must be developed and strengthened.

Comrades! There is a lot of work to be done in the field of the further development of agriculture. It is essential to considerably increase production of all kinds of agricultural produce in order to satisfy more fully the demands of the population for food products and of industry for raw materials.

Particular attention, as demanded by the party, must be paid to increasing the gross yields of grain. The efforts of rural workers must be concentrated primarily on increasing yields by raising farming standards, improving seed production, agricultural techniques and the structure of sowing areas, extensively introducing new high-yield varieties, and utilizing all factors involved in intensification. At the same time, measures must be adopted where possible for extending areas for growing grain.

Great concern must be shown about increasing yields and production of sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables and other crops.

Agriculture's busiest time is now upon us. In all regions of the republic, the work of gathering in the harvest and procuring fodder is being carried out on a broad front. It is very important to insure that the gathering of the harvest is loss-free and to keep it completely intact. The main thing is to raise the level of organizational work, to correctly distribute resources and funds, to put on an even broader mass basis the socialist competition for maximum productivity of harvesting machinery and transport as

exemplified by the workers of Ipatovskiy Rayon in Stavropolskiy Kray who were commended by the CPSU Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

I would like in particular, comrades, to dwell on the problems facing the republic's stockmen this year. Thanks to the selfless labor of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers, and tremendous help from the state, the consequences of the past year's extremely unfavorable weather conditions are being overcome. The 6-month plan for the purchase of stock-raising produce has been overfulfilled. In comparison with last year, state purchases of eggs increased by 1.3 billion, of milk by 1.8 million tons, and of meat by 329,000 tons. There has been a noticeable increase in the livestock and poultry population, and productivity has been raised.

At the same time, the level reached in the development of stockraising does not yet fully satisfy the constantly growing popular demand for certain foodstuffs.

The party, the Central Committee and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally, have set the task of achieving substantial advances in the development of stock-raising. To do this it is first of all necessary to raise the productivity of livestock while at the same time increasing its population. Particular urgency in stockraising is attached to the intensification of specialization and concentration of production on the basis of interfarm cooperation, and the introduction of advanced labor organization techniques.

The main condition for an upsurge in stockraising is the greatest possible development of feed production and processing on a modern technical basis. An assured and full supply of all kinds of feed for livestock, a substantial improvement in its quality, and the creation of essential reserve supplies must become an immutable rule, an agricultural norm on every kolkhoz and sovkhoz. Concern about feed is an urgent area of work in the countryside. Here provision must also be made for the development needs of stockraising on the population's private plots. Soviets and agricultural organs must act as the organizers of this entire matter.

Comrades! The successful fulfillment of the five-year plan targets by all sectors of the economy represents the basis for the rationalization of the social program elaborated by the 25th CPSU Congress. "The highest aim of social production under socialism," the draft constitution states, "is the complete satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the people."

Our society's potential for realizing this aim is constantly growing. The results of the fulfillment of the RSFSR national economic development plan for last year and the first half of 1977 testify that the social program is being successfully implemented.

The real incomes of working people are rising at the intended rates. The 6-month commodity turnover plan for the current year has been overfulfilled.

Foodstuffs and industrial commodities worth R2.7 billion more than for the same period last year have been sold to the population. The volume of consumer services carried out has increased, and the work of the whole sphere of the people's sociocultural services has improved. A large quantity of housing, children's preschool institutions, schools, hospitals, shops, dining rooms and clubs have been opened.

The solution of social problems is a very important sector of the work of the soviets of the working peoples' deputies. Concern for Soviet man is the determining direction of their activities. Providing the population with full range of conditions for living is largely dependent on how actively the soviets utilize their rights, and on how fully they mobilize internal resources.

Local soviets must strive in every way to improve the work of trade and communal consumer service enterprises, of transport and communications, medical and children's institutions, schools, and the social security system, pay greater attention to labor and rest conditions, and to promote the development of physical education and mass sport.

An increasing place in the soviet's activities must be given to questions of housing and sociocultural construction, the planned development of cities and villages, civil engineering projects, the provision of public services and amenities and the planting of greenery.

In the RSFSR, comrades, there are now nearly 1,000 cities of which 420 have appeared on the republic's map since the adoption of the present constitution. Today's village, too, looks different, and increasing numbers of village settlements are appearing in which the inhabitants' living conditions are close to those in cities.

All this creates a number of important problems for the soviets. It is essential to strive for integrated development of cities and villages, the general introduction of new standard design plans for housing construction, the careful preservation of historic and cultural monuments and the natural landscapes, to skillfully combine industrial construction methods with the achievements of modern architecture and the aesthetics of urban development. The soviets are called upon to strive to see that the necessary conditions for the people's fruitful labor, healthy leisure and happy living are created in cities and villages.

A most important avenue of local soviets' activities is their work in the communist education of the working people, the development of cultural-enlightenment and scientific institutions, the preservation and augmentation of spiritual values, the greatest possible development of professional art and popular artistic creativity, and their wide use for raising the cultural level of the population.

The realization of the new constitution's provisions, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the May plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, must raise all our



state and economic activity and all the work of organs of power and administration to a qualitatively new level. The magnificent ideas of the new constitution, absorbed by millions of the masses, will become an immense material force, a powerful accelerator of our society's progress.

Comrades! The nationwide discussion of the draft of the fundamental law is setting great organization and ideological education tasks in whose solution party, soviet and public organizations of all RSFSR oblasts, krays and autonomous republics are actively participating.

In the intervening period, a large amount of work has been done aimed at successfully fulfilling the May CPSU Central Committee plenum's instruction to guarantee the widest, freest and truly businesslike discussion of the draft constitution. It is now important to completely bring home to each citizen the profound meaning of the new constitution. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev indicated that discussion of the draft is a vital concern of the soviets. All deputies and the broad social aktiv, must be enlisted in this.

In the course of the discussion of the draft constitution many questions of concern to people are being touched upon, and a mass of concrete proposals and remarks are being expressed. Not one valuable initiative must go unnoticed. They must all be taken into consideration in the activities of republican organs and local soviets. It is necessary to react effectively and concretely to criticism and suggestions, to eliminate shortcomings, and adopt measures for improving the state of affairs where it is necessary.

Comrade deputies! In his report at the May CPSU Central Committee plenum, L. I. Brezhnev set the task of elaborating and ratifying, without wasting time, constitutions for the union and autonomous republics.

In this context, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is submitting for your examination a proposal on the formation of a commission to prepare the draft of the new RSFSR Constitution, and its membership. It is intended to publish the draft at the end of this year or the beginning of the next for discussion by citizens of the republic, and then to examine it at an extraordinary session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

After the adoption of the new RSFSR Constitution, work will have to be done to further improve legislation including such major acts as the regulations of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the election laws, laws concerning the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and also kray, oblast and okrug soviets of peoples' deputies. Much work has to be done on the elaboration of constitutions for the autonomous republics, and the improvement of their legislation.

The elaboration of the RSFSR Constitution and its ratification is an important stage in the life of our republic. The draft of the new RSFSR Constitution is called upon to reflect the enormous changes which have taken place since the time of the adoption of the fundamental law of the republic now in force, and also to take into consideration the most important legislative enactments adopted in recent years.

The draft of the new RSFSR Constitution must reflect in the continuity of the constitutional development of the RSFSR, whose first constitution was elaborated with the direct participation of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin.

The new RSFSR Constitution must naturally correspond to the USSR Constitution and take into account the republic's peculiarities. When working on the draft it is essential to make full use of the experience of the fruitful activity of the union Constitutional Commission headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Esteemed comrade deputies!

The adoption of the new USSR Constitution will be an important milestone in the political history of our country, and a new and remarkable contribution by Lenin's party and the whole Soviet people to the great cause of the building of communism and of the people's struggle for freedom and progress, and for lasting peace on earth.

Allow me, on your behalf and on behalf of all the working people of the RSFSR, to assure the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and L. I. Brezhnev personally, that the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the nations and nationalities of Soviet Russia, expressing unanimous approval of the draft of the new constitution, will devote all their strength and knowledge to the successful implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the majestic plans for the building of communism.

(The report was repeatedly punctuated with applause.)

CSO: 1800

ROMANOV ADDRESS TO LENINGRAD CITY SOVIET

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 77 p 1 LD

[LENTASS report: "First Session of Leningrad City Soviet"]

[Excerpts] The first session of Leningrad city soviet, 16th convocation, was held in the great hall of the Leningrad city soviet yesterday.

A long speech was delivered at the session by Deputy G. V. Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad Obkom.

The work of the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session, Comrade Romanov said, took place in a businesslike and creative situation, and in an atmosphere of full unanimity, and confirmed yet again that the Communist Party and the Soviet state have no interests higher than those of the people, and that the CPSU, as reflected in the USSR draft constitution, exists for the people and serves the people.

At numerous meetings and gatherings of the aktiv of Leningrad party organization and later of city, rayon and primary party organizations, the communists and working people of Leningrad city and oblast have fully and unanimously approved the draft fundamental law of the land of the Soviets, and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum.

Together, with all the Soviet people, the people of Leningrad greeted with tremendous satisfaction the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution electing Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the party's Central Committee, to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The working people of our city and oblast see this portentous political act, which ensues from the requirements of the present stage of communist building, and accords with the highest interests of the party and the people, as recognition of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's exceptional services in formulating and practically implementing the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy, and as an expression of the most profound respect for our party's universally recognized leader and the Soviet head of state.

Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's indefatigable activity aimed at steadily enhancing the people's well-being, his constant concern for the Soviet working person, and his Leninist and truly party-minded and statesman-like approach to resolving key problems of further increasing the country's economic and defense might and strengthening its international authority, have won universal gratitude.

The elaboration and realization of the foreign policy course known on the planet as the Soviet peace program are inseparably linked with the name of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. Every foreign policy action, including the visit to France which has just ended in great success, convincingly confirms that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is an outstanding political and state leader, who has acted in recent years both in our country and in the international arena as the most authoritative representative of the CPSU and the Soviet socialist state.

Supporting and approving the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution electing Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the people of Leningrad wish the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the Soviet head of state great new achievements in his fruitful activities in the name of our Leninist party and the Soviet people, and in the name of strengthening general peace on earth.

As everywhere in the country, Comrade Romanov went on to say, the draft of the new USSR Constitution, the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum, and the materials of the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ninth convocation, are being discussed with great enthusiasm in Leningrad city and oblast. Hundreds of meetings and gatherings have taken place in production collectives, as well as meetings of citizens as their places of residence. Cycles of lectures and talks on the draft of the fundamental law of our life have been organized. The press, television and the radio have actively joined in this work.

Comrade Romanov went on to speak of enhancing the role of the soviets in all spheres of the life of society. The USSR draft constitution defines the main ways to strengthen links between the soviets and their deputies and the masses, including the duty regularly to inform the population of their activities, to report back to the voters and carefully consider every one of their suggestions, Comrade Romanov pointed out. He emphasized that local soviets, as the draft fundamental law points out, proceeding from statewide interests and the citizens' interests, resolve not only questions of local significance, not only direct state, economic and sociocultural building on their territory and not only exercise leadership of the activities of their subordinate enterprises, establishments and organizations, but also control and coordinate within the limits of their powers the work of all organizations of higher subordination in the spheres of land use, nature conservation, construction, consumer goods production and sociocultural, domestic and other services for the population.

Comrade Romanov dwelt in detail on the tasks facing the Leningrad city soviet and rayon soviets in fulfilling the comprehensive plan for the economic and social development of Leningrad and the oblast in the Tenth Five-Year Plan. The realization of this program requires strenuous effort, the very best utilization of existing reserves, and efficiency and organization in work. Comrade Romanov spoke of the need to strengthen control through the soviets over the construction of social projects, and over the assimilation of the state capital investments allocated for these purposes, including those for the construction of housing, children's preschool establishments, and public health projects.

At meetings with their candidate deputies on the eve of the local soviet elections, the voters criticized certain leaders of soviet and economic organs who seldom visit new construction sites, stores, domestic services enterprises, or housing offices, which sometimes engenders complacency and shortcomings in work locally. This would be taken into consideration. The newly elected local soviet ispolkoms must increase attention toward considering citizens' suggestions, statements and complaints and enhance the responsibility of officials for the flexible and exhaustive adoption of measures following reports and criticisms.

Chairing the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium after the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, emphasized, when speaking of the unity of the highest and local organs of soviet power, and of their indissoluble link with the people's masses, that "the soviets are the living, fluid, constantly self-renewing organization of the people. Just as in the past they were able to unite the revolutionary movement of the masses and their efforts in the building of socialism into a common channel, so now, under conditions of mature socialism, the work of the soviets must absorb still more fully the struggle to raise production efficiency, to fulfill the broad social program outlined by the party, and to develop all aspects of our socialist democracy, that is, to resolve the tasks of the building of communism."

Comrade Romanov expressed confidence that the deputies of one of the country's oldest soviets--the Leningrad soviet--will fulfill with honor this chief instruction of the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

CSO: 1800

# GRISHIN ADDRESS TO MOSCOW CITY SOVIET

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 77 pp 1-2 LD

[Unattributed report: "We Will Fulfill the Tasks Set by the Party"]

[Excerpts] The first session of the Moscow city soviet's 16th convocation was held yesterday in the "Oktyabr" movie theater.

Deputy R. F. Dementyeva, secretary of the Moscow CPSU gorkom, was elected chairman of the session, and Deputy S. F. Trushkin, assemblyman-fitter of the "Tizpribor" plant and hero of socialist labor, was elected secretary.

The agenda was approved. The session must examine organizational questions and discuss the report on the USSR draft constitution and the tasks of Moscow's soviets stemming from the report delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee May plenum.

The session unanimously approved the report of the credentials commission, and acknowledged the credentials of all 1,160 deputies. Then the session turned to the election of Moscow gorispolkom. V. V. Grishin, first secretary of Moscow CPSU gorkom, delivered a speech on this question.

Deputy V. F. Promyslov was elected chairman of Moscow gorispolkom.

Deputies S. M. Kolomin and A. I. Yashin were elected first deputy chairmen of Moscow gorispolkom; Deputies V. V. Bitunov, P. A. Voronina, L. B. Deribin, V. I. Konovalov, A. I. Kostenko, B. V. Nikolskiy, B. N. Stepanov, Yu. A. Yushin were elected deputy chairmen; Deputy B. V. Pokarzhevskiy was elected ispolkom secretary. Deputies V. V. Grishin, N. A. Belyayev, M. A. Golubeva, K. N. Kosulnikov, R. A. Popilov, M. D. Poleshchuk, I. N. Ponomarev, M. V. Posokhin, L. V. Rogova, G. G. Samokhvalov, Ye. V. Sofronova, A. M. Surovtsev and V. V. Chernyshev, were elected members of the gorispolkom.

The session formed and elected the standing commissions of the Moscow soviet.

The session unanimously approved the membership of the city people's control committee of 19 members. Deputy K. N. Kosulnikov was appointed chairman of the committee.

The session then turned to the discussion of the second question on the agenda.

Deputy V. V. Grishin, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU gorkom, delivered a report "On the USSR draft constitution and the tasks of Moscow's soviets stemming from the report delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum."

Nationwide discussion on the draft of the new USSR Constitution is taking place in our country in an atmosphere of great political and labor enthusiasm, V. V. Grishin said in his report.

The working people of Moscow, like those throughout the country, welcomed with enormous enthusiasm and satisfaction the draft of the USSR fundamental law. They unanimously approve and support the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May plenum, the report delivered at the plenum by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the draft of the USSR Constitution, which is imbued with profound faith in the final victory of communist ideals, and concern for the further raising of Soviet people's well-being and the further prosperity of the motherland, and the insuring of peace on earth.

The USSR draft constitution has been discussed at a meeting of the aktiv of the Moscow city CPSU organizations. The party aktiv unanimously approved the draft of the fundamental law and all the premises and conclusions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the CPSU Central Committee May plenum, and adopted them for unswerving guidance and execution.

The nationwide discussion of the USSR draft constitution which has been launched is accompanied by a powerful upsurge of socialist competition and the intensification of the struggle to implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the pledges adopted in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Soviet people welcomed with great enthusiasm the results of the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's combination of the posts of CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, reflecting the growth in the leading and guiding role of the CPSU, accords with the highest interests of our state. It will promote the successful solution of the tasks of communist building, the consolidation of our position in the international arena, the further development of socialist democracy and the raising of the role of the soviets in the management of the state.

All Soviet people know well, and deeply respect Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as an outstanding figure of our party and state and the international communist movement, and as an ardent fighter for communism and peace. They warmly support and unanimously approve his election to the top post of USSR state power.

The results of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's trip to France are now at the center of our people's attention. The talks he had with the French president on key international problems, and the important documents which were signed, were aimed at developing and intensifying Soviet-French relations, strengthening the relaxation of international tension and consolidating peace.

Like all Soviet people, Muscovites wish Comrade L. I. Brezhnev good health and new successes in his multifaceted party and state activity.

The universal approval of the draft constitution and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May plenum, V. V. Grishin continued, attest to the indestructible unity of our people and their monolithic cohesion around the CPSU and its Central Committee.

This was very strongly demonstrated at the elections to the local soviets, which took the form of a great holiday of the triumph of Soviet democracy and ended in a complete victory for the bloc of communists and nonparty people. The active participation in the elections, the unanimous vote, the festive enthusiasm, and the numerous patriotic statements and inscriptions on the ballot papers attest to the working people's unanimous approval of the political course of the CPSU, the practical activity of the CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev aimed at the further consolidation of the might of our motherland, the steady improvement of the people's well-being, and the consolidation of peace and the peoples' security.

The elected soviets are called on to perform a large amount of work on the further development of the national economy, the improvement of the population's living standard, and the improvement of services and the education of the working people. They must do a great deal in connection with the nationwide discussion of the USSR draft constitution.

The report delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee May plenum examined questions of the draft constitution from Marxist-Leninist positions, gave a profoundly scientific substantiation of the need to develop a new constitution, comprehensively described its main provisions, showed its very important significance, both for the country's domestic life and for the consolidation of the positions of the forces of socialism, peace and progress in the international arena, and set tasks connected with the nationwide discussion of the draft of the USSR fundamental law. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report is an outstanding theoretical and political document which is a creative development of Marxism-Leninism on questions of state building.



In 4 decades, fundamental changes have taken place in the life of our country, the Soviet people and our entire society. These changes can be seen vividly and graphically in the example of Moscow. In 40 years, the annual volume of industrial production in the city has increased 14 times. Here its nature has changed fundamentally. While 40 years ago light industry enterprises predominated in the capital, Moscow now is a city of large-scale plants for machine-tool building, instrument building, radio electronics, motor vehicles, chemical and petroleum refining industries. The enterprises of the light and food industries, many of which have been renovated and modernized, have also acquired a new look.

In the past 40 years, considerable urban development changes have taken place in the capital. The volume of annual capital investments has increased 14 times and is now over R4 billion. Very important sectors of municipal services like the construction industry, thermal power engineering, urban passenger transport and, above all, the subway, water supplies and others, have been almost created anew. The housing stock has increased 4.5 times. Over 70 percent of Muscovites live in individual well-equipped apartments.

In 4 decades, the services network has been considerably expanded. Retail trade turnover has increased 11 times. Consumer services for the population have become a large-scale sector.

Great changes have taken place in science, education and the health service. In the capital there are over 1,000 scientific research and planning and design organizations. In 40 years, the number of specialists with higher and secondary specialized education has increased 6.7 times, and the number of VUZ students 7 times. A broad network of general education schools, vocational and technical colleges, and secondary specialized educational establishments has been created in the city. The transition to universal secondary education has been basically completed. The number of medical institutions has increased considerably. The labor, everyday and leisure conditions of the capital's population are improving consistently with every passing year. The life of the Muscovites has become materially and spiritually richer, and their communist awareness has increased immeasurably.

These changes are a reflection of the general changes in our country over the past 40 years, which have served as the main reasons and preconditions for the creation of a new USSR Constitution.

The draft of the new constitution, V. V. Grishin continued, is the result of a large amount of protracted work. Its basis was made up of the precise instructions of the party, the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, and the premises and conclusions formulated in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's reports and speeches.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution generalizes the entire constitutional experience of Soviet history and enriches this experience with new content according with the demands of the present era. It reflects the great achievements of the Soviet people, achieved thanks to the power of the soviets under the leadership of the Communist Party.

V. V. Grishin then set forth the main content of the USSR draft constitution and its particulars and characteristic features. The draft constitution, he noted, in particular defines the USSR as a socialist state of the whole people expressing the will and interests of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia, and all the country's nations and nationalities. This formula reflects the party's conclusions on the transformation of the Soviet state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of all the people, and speaks of the social base of state power in the developed socialist society. In this connection, it is planned to call the soviets which comprise the political basis of the USSR the soviets of peoples deputies.

One of the main changes in the life of Soviet society over 40 years is the considerable growth in the role of the party. It has grown immeasurably in the quantitative respect. The tasks which it was to resolve have become even more complex and varied. Its role has become even more responsible, and the scale of its guiding influence on the country's domestic life and foreign policy has increased.

The draft plans to reinforce by legislation the enhanced role of the CPSU, and stresses that it is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, and the nucleus of its political system and of all state and public organizations.

The considerable expansion of the clauses on the CPSU in the draft constitution stresses the nationwide recognition of the party's services to the state and its outstanding role as the leader and organizer of the Soviet people in the struggle to build communism.

The soviets are the embodiment of socialist democratism, true people's power, and effective executives of the party's policy. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the 17 June session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was imbued with party concern for enhancing the role of the soviets. It described profoundly the tasks facing all levels of the soviets. As a unit of supreme power, any of our soviets is not only empowered to resolve all questions within its competence, but also acts as the champion of all-state interests and decisions.

In setting tasks for the further improvement of the activity of the soviets, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed that the soviets constitute a living, mobile organization of the people--an organization which is constantly being renewed. Just as in the past they were able to unite into a common channel the revolutionary movement of the masses and their efforts in building socialism, so now, under the conditions of mature socialism, the work of the soviets should include even more fully the struggle to increase production efficiency, to fulfill the broad social program outlined by the party, and to develop all aspects of our socialist democracy, that is, to resolve the tasks of building communism.

The draft fundamental law of the USSR points out the basic principles of the soviets' activity. They create executive and administrative and other organs accountable to them, and they elect standing commissions. The soviets of people's deputies guide, directly and through the organs they create, all sectors of state, economic and sociocultural building, make decisions, insure their fulfillment and control their implementation. The draft provides for the intensification of the role of the soviets in resolving the most important questions of the life of society.

The USSR Constitution has reflected the established practice of the work of the local soviets. They resolve all questions of local significance, proceeding from general state interests and the interests of the citizens living in the territory of the soviet, and implement the decisions of higher-ranking state organs.

The draft constitution reflects questions of strengthening the links of the soviets and their deputies with the masses. They must regularly inform the population of their activity, give reports to the voters, and examine the working people's suggestions attentively.

The draft fundamental law has considerably improved the clauses on Soviet citizens' rights. The draft mentions a number of the rights of Soviet citizens not included in the present constitution. It is a question of the right to housing, the protection of their health and the use of the achievements of culture. In Moscow, in just the 2 years between the elections to the local soviets, apartment blocks with a total area of 9.6 million square meters were constructed. This has made it possible to improve the living conditions of 900,000 people, and of these 590,000 have received apartments in newly constructed blocks. In the capital, dozens of hospital blocks and polyclinics have been constructed, and large-scale medical centers and scientific institutions have been created in the past few years; a cardiological and an oncological center are now under construction. Measures have been taken to improve medical services at enterprises, and to improve the organization of first aid and emergency treatment, and steps are being taken to make the environment healthier, and to improve the citizens' working, everyday and leisure conditions.

Great significance, V. V. Grishin stressed, attaches to the fact that the draft is aimed at legislatively backing Lenin's principles of Soviet foreign policy. The need for this is dictated by fundamental changes in the international position of the Soviet Union, the enormous growth of its influence in world politics, and the close interaction of internal and external factors of the Soviet state's development.

The USSR draft constitution has tremendous international significance, the speaker continued. It has been published in all states of the socialist community.

The international response engendered by the draft is so great that even imperialist propaganda cannot pass it over in silence. It is characteristic that the draft has been published in full or in summary by many major bourgeois newspapers.

At the same time, imperialist propaganda is trying to belittle the historic achievements of the Soviet people, and to distort the truly democratic nature of our society and state. Despite these attempts, the truth about the USSR draft constitution is being disseminated widely throughout the world.

The USSR Constitution will be an inspiring example to the peoples of all countries who have chosen the path of socialist development. It will serve as an example to the working masses of the capitalist countries in their struggle for their rights, and for deliverance from the oppression of capitalist exploitation. The adoption of the new USSR Constitution will be one more historic contribution by our Leninist party to the great cause of building communism, and to the international [internatsionalnoye] cause of the struggle of the working people of the whole world for freedom, the progress of mankind and stable peace on earth.

In connection with the nationwide discussion of the USSR draft constitution, V. V. Grishin continued, the soviets of working people's deputies are faced with great and crucial tasks. One of them is to insure the active participation of the working masses in the discussion of the draft of the USSR fundamental law.

The nationwide discussion of the USSR Constitution is being carried out actively. At enterprises and in organizations and institutions, numerous meetings and gatherings have taken place at which the working people are stressing the democratic nature of the draft and the party's concern for the people's well-being. They are making proposals and comments, and are thanking the party, the Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, and Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev personally for the elaboration of the draft of the USSR fundamental law.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed at the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum, the discussion of the draft constitution is a vital matter for the soviets. In the organization of this work they are called on to reach virtually every adult of the country's population. They are called on to publicize the Soviet socialist way of life, expose the antipopular essence of the capitalist system, and give reasoned answers to the questions which emerge during the discussion of the draft constitution.

In discussing the draft constitution, attention should be concentrated on improving the activity of the soviets, economic organizations, and labor collectives. The Moscow gorispolkom and rayispolkoms and their administrative organs, and the soviet deputies should react promptly to criticism directed against them and to suggestions and remarks and take measures to improve the state of affairs, and improve the work of the executive committees of the soviets, and the economic and other organizations subordinated to them.

The draft constitution sets the deputies great tasks. L. I. Brezhnev said at the CPSU Central Committee plenum that the enormous opportunities of the 2-million strong army of deputies should be fully used.... The powerful

collective brain of soviet power resolved and will continue to resolve increasingly complex and varied tasks. It can and must implement the most effective control over the work of the executive organs of all levels.

Work with the deputies must be improved in order to insure that the deputies cope successfully with the high commitments imposed on them and thus promote the improvement of the soviets' activity.

Considerable experience of work with deputies has been accumulated in Moscow. The role of the standing commission of the Moscow soviet and rayon soviets has increased, and their control functions have strengthened. They have begun to exert better control over the implementation of the decisions of the sessions and the plans for the development of the economy and the budget, and to exert more active influence on the work of the administrative organs, the economic components and services subordinated to the ispolkoms. The deputies' soviets and groups have given a positive account of themselves. Seminars and conferences devoted to questions of legislation in various fields are held regularly with the deputies.

This work must continue to be performed, and deputies must be given more information about the work of the soviets and their executive committees and organs of management, and the deputies must be armed with knowledge in the field of state and economic building. This will promote the raising of the activeness of the deputies, and the improvement of their activity and the growth of their authority among the population. It is particularly necessary to intensify attention toward the improvement of the organization of the work of the deputies in the electoral districts, the consolidation of their links with the voters, and the elaboration of measures to fulfill their orders and suggestions.

It is notable that the USSR draft constitution is being discussed in the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution as the result of the great achievements of our people attained under the leadership of the CPSU. Therefore, it is very important to combine the discussion of the draft constitution with the preparation for the celebration of the 60th anniversary of October so that the discussion of the draft constitution promotes the attainment of new labor victories in the struggle to fulfill the targets of the five-year plan and the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The Moscow working people have widely developed socialist competition for the fulfillment of the plans of the five-year plan. They have taken on high socialist pledges for a fitting greeting to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The workers of industry, transport, construction, and the services sphere have pledged to fulfill their annual plans ahead of schedule, to insure an improvement in efficiency and quality, and to take a major new step forward in turning the capital into a model communist city. The initiative of the production innovators and leading workers who have pledged to fulfill the targets of the 2 years of the five-year plan by 7 November and several personal five-year plan targets by the end of 1980, is being widely disseminated in Moscow. This initiative has great national economic significance.

The results of work for 1976, and the 5 months of this year, attest that the targets of the five-year plan in the field of industry, transport, construction, municipal services and the services sphere are being successfully fulfilled. Production efficiency is increasing, labor productivity is growing, and the proportion of output of the top category of quality is increasing. But there are shortcomings and omissions in work, and unresolved problems.

The discussion of the draft of the new constitution should be aimed at eliminating shortcomings in the development of all sectors of the city's economy, and at successfully fulfilling the plan for the current year and the five-year plan as a whole. For this it is necessary to develop the masses' labor activeness more widely, to raise the organization of socialist competition to a higher level, and to insure the fulfillment of the plan for each month, quarter and year by all enterprises and organizations.

The fundamental problems of the city's development should be at the center of the soviets' organizational work. One of these problems is the insuring of the steady growth of industrial production and capital construction, and the development of transport and the services sphere. To this end it is necessary to strive for the best use of production capacities, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the modernization and technical re-equipping progress, the renovation of fixed capital, the all-round raising of labor productivity, the intensification of the regime of thrift, and the rational use of manpower.

An important task is to insure the fulfillment of the construction plans, to improve the organization of all construction production, to improve the city's construction in progress, to build up and make better use of the capacities of the main administrations for construction, to accelerate the introduction of a single catalog of standardized articles, and to improve the standard of planning and quality of construction.

The improvement of the work of enterprises and organizations of transport and communications, housing, trade, and public catering, consumer services, and health organizations, people's education, and cultural organizations, that is, the sectors connected with the life and everyday existence of the Muscovites and the improvement of their cultural standard are urgent tasks. The standard of living and mood of the Muscovites and their labor activeness largely depend on the quality and efficiency of labor in these sectors. The Moscow city and rayon soviets and their organs of management are called on to improve the work of these sectors resolutely, and to insure the successful fulfillment of plans to provide services for the population.

One of the tasks of the Moscow city and rayon soviets is the intensification of the struggle to turn Moscow into a model communist city. To this end it is essential to strive to turn all enterprises and organizations into model ones in terms of their organization of labor and production, degree of technical equipping, technical standard, the quality and efficiency of work, and people's conscious attitude toward labor, and to turn apartment blocks, quarters, micro-rayons and whole rayons into model ones in terms of their public amenities and upkeep.

The capital's inhabitants must be distinguished by love for their city, concern for its authority, high culture, and the strict observance of the norms of socialist communal living.

Developing in every way the working people's activeness, and organizing the active discussion of the draft of the new constitution, the Moscow soviets are called on to make every effort to develop more widely the struggle to fulfill the targets of the five-year plan, the pledges adopted in honor of the 60th anniversary of October, and the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

The nationwide discussion of the USSR draft constitution will be a survey of the great achievements of the world's first country of socialism, and a testimony to the decisive advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist system. The most important task of Moscow's soviets is to launch a great amount of organizational work in discussing the draft constitution, and implementing the tasks set in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum.

The new USSR Constitution will be adopted in the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet people's historic revolutionary achievements which will be enshrined in the USSR Constitution will be a direct continuation of the cause of October and the embodiment of the ideas of the great Lenin.

In conclusion, V. V. Grishin expressed the conviction that the Moscow city soviet of working people's deputies and all Muscovites would unanimously approve the USSR draft constitution, the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1977) plenum, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the plenum and, under the leadership of the party organizations, raise political and labor activeness still higher, make a fitting contribution to the successful fulfillment of the Tenth Five-Year Plan and the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and augment their efforts in the struggle for the great cause of building communism.

Taking part in the work of the Moscow soviet session were M. A. Yasnov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and M. P. Georgadze, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

CSO: 1800

KEBIN REPORT TO ESTONIAN SUPREME SOVIET

Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Jul 77 pp 1-2

[Speech by I. G. Kebin, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia: "On the Draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Tasks of the Soviets of Toiler Deputies of the Estonian SSR Proceeding from the Report by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May (1977) CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Deputies!

This year -- the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution -- will occupy a special place in the history of our country and of all mankind. Greeting the glorious jubilee of the Great October Revolution, our country's toilers are vigorously and consistently implementing the resolutions of the historic 25th CPSU Congress and are achieving new successes in building communism. A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on 24 May, which received and discussed a report by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Constitution Commission, entitled "On the Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." This outstanding political and ideological-theoretical document reflects in concentrated form the results of the six decades during which the Soviet people have trod the path of Lenin, and thoroughly describes the draft Fundamental Law of our country and reveals its historic significance.

The drafting of a new constitution was the result of extensive and comprehensive work and analysis of the changes which have taken place in the Soviet society and the international situation in the 40 years since the present constitution was promulgated in 1936.

All work on preparing the draft of the new constitution was performed under the direct supervision and with the active participation of the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo, and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally.



The May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee basically approved the draft of the new constitution and recommended that it be submitted for nationwide discussion. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a corresponding ukase on 27 May.

This discussion is taking place in an atmosphere of high political enthusiasm and under the badge of solid unity of Soviet citizens behind the Communist Party. At meetings of production work forces, public organizations, as well as in thousands of letters, Soviet citizens are expressing enthusiastic approval of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government as well as the results of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR demonstrated the indestructible unity of party and people. Expressing the will of all Soviet citizens, this session, at a joint session of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities on 16 June, unanimously and enthusiastically adopted a decree calling for the election of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This decree possesses profound political significance. It reflects the enhanced role of the Communist Party, which constitutes the nucleus of our entire political system and of all toiler organizations -- governmental and public. The outstanding personal qualities and selfless labor of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of our party, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, for the good of the homeland, naturally have led to a situation where for many years now Comrade Brezhnev has constituted the de facto head of state, supported by the entire Soviet people; he has earned the recognition of the entire world as the most highly-respected representative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Socialist State, a consistent champion of world peace.

Election of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the post of Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is in conformity with the highest interests of the Soviet society and state and will foster new successes in carrying out the historic resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress, and new successes in building communism.

The basic outline of the draft of the new constitution was worked out at the 25th CPSU Congress.

The draft of the new constitution, which is presently being discussed by the entire nation, is based on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory; it synthesizes the changes which have taken place in the Soviet society and state, and records the fact that an advanced socialist society has been built in this country. The draft Fundamental Law preserves and further develops the characteristic features of the constitution of a socialist state, specified by V. I. Lenin, as well as many fundamental points of the present Fundamental Law. The experience of constitutional development of the brother socialist countries has also been taken into consideration.

The draft of the new constitution constitutes a draft Fundamental Law of a state with an advanced socialist society.

The increased scale and complexity of the tasks being performed by the Soviet people under party guidance at the present stage in the building of communism as well as the higher organization of the societal and governmental system under conditions of advanced socialism have placed an imprint on the content and structure of the draft of the new constitution. It begins with a preamble, which states in concise form the paths of development of Soviet society, and characterizes in detail the advanced socialist society. In comparison with the present Fundamental Law, the draft of the new constitution contains a number of new chapters and articles which more fully state the fundamental constitutional tenets and principles pertaining to the most important spheres of governmental and societal affairs and more fully reveals the social-class essence and orientation of advanced socialism, as well as new features characteristic of our system.

The first section of the draft constitution -- "Principles of the Sociopolitical and Economic System" -- begins with a chapter describing our political system. As a result of development of the Soviet society and changes in its class makeup, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been transformed into a "socialist state of the whole people, which expresses the will and interests of the worker class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, of all this country's nationalities and ethnic groups." The draft constitution proclaims that all power belongs to the Soviet people. In conformity with this, the draft constitution proposes that representative governmental bodies be called Soviets of People's Deputies.

The draft of the new constitution contains a detailed description of the place and role of the Communist Party in the political system of Soviet society. In contrast to the 1936 Constitution, there is more said about the place of our party in the Soviet society and state, in a special article in which the fact is stated that the CPSU constitutes the guiding and directing force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system, of all governmental and public organizations. This article characterizes the CPSU and emphasizes that it exists for the people and serves the people.

The draft of the new constitution devotes considerable attention to public organizations. Their prestige and significance in our political system are enhanced to an even greater degree. They enjoy the right of participation in settling political, economic and social-cultural matters as well as the right of legislative initiative.

The basic content of the political system of Soviet society is characterized by an advanced system of socialist democracy and its further development. Expansion and deepening of socialist democracy constitutes the main content of the new elements characterizing the draft Fundamental Law.

The democratic principles of the formation and activities of Soviets -- the most representative agencies of popular authority -- are receiving further

development. The process of all-out democratization in the activities of popular government bodies also most directly influences other elements of the political system of society.

The draft of the new USSR Constitution vividly reveals the popular essence of the Soviet state and the advantages of the socialist democracy, and reveals the forms and enormous scope of the continuously growing real participation of the broad masses in governing the affairs of state and society. This historic document will create a political-legal basis for further improvement of democracy of the advanced socialist society. The draft of the new constitution gives a prominent place to a description of the economic system. It preserves the fundamental thesis that socialist ownership of the means of production comprises the foundation of the economic system of the USSR and stresses that its principal form is state ownership as the common property of the entire Soviet people. The state guards socialist property, creates conditions for it to multiply, and promotes the development of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership and its drawing closer to state ownership.

The draft of the new constitution defines the ownership status of trade union and other public organizations.

The draft of the new constitution confirms the right of personal property of citizens and guarantees the protection of private property by law. At the same time it is emphasized that property which is personally owned and personally utilized by citizens shall not serve to extract nonlabor income and shall not be utilized to the detriment of society.

Linked with the powerful growth of our socialist economy is inclusion in the draft of new and important constitutional provisions securing the economic role of the socialist state. Expressing the basic features of the contemporary stage in development of the nation's economy, the draft constitution states that the economy of the USSR has been transformed into a unified economic complex, encompassing all elements of societal production, distribution and exchange throughout the entire territory of this country.

Utilizing the advantages of socialist organization of production in the unified fraternal family of peoples of the USSR, Soviet Estonia has achieved unprecedented economic prosperity.

The friendship and selfless assistance of the other Soviet peoples helped this republic rapidly advance industry and agriculture, which had been in a state of stagnation under the bourgeois system, and to transform Estonia rapidly into an industrial republic with a highly-developed, highly-efficient agriculture. Today this republic has an industrial output which is 42 times that of 1940. Today industry accounts for two thirds of total societal product produced in this republic, and more than half of national income.

Under the guidance of the CPSU and with enormous material support by the Soviet state, taking into consideration the wealth of experience of socialist transformation of the village in the other union republics, a socialist sector was rapidly established in the Estonian village. By the end of 1950 collectivization was practically completed in agriculture in the Estonian SSR. In the last 15 years alone the fixed assets of kolkhozes and sovkhoses have increased from 400 million to 2 billion rubles, or 5-fold.

The draft of the new constitution states that a program of transformation of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial labor and transformation of villages and hamlets into communities with all services and amenities is being consistently implemented in the USSR.

Just as throughout the entire country, the retooling of production on kolkhozes and sovkhoses as well as a rise in the living standards of rural toilers have substantially changed the social countenance of today's village in Soviet Estonia.

For the first time the constitution contains provisions stating that the highest goal of societal production under socialism is maximum satisfaction of people's growing material and spiritual requirements. Of fundamental importance is the provision in the draft constitution stating that the free labor of Soviet citizens constitutes the source of growth of societal wealth, the prosperity of the people and each individual.

The draft of the new constitution states such an important principle of the socialist economy as the combining of centralized planning supervision with economic initiative on the part of enterprises and associations. Inclusion in the draft of the new constitution of a provision on toiler collectives constitutes a new step in implementation of our party's policy of development of democratic elements in production management.

The report by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee emphasizes the need for further development of democratic elements in economic growth and development as well as careful consideration of the great diversity of conditions of development of our economy. And this is impossible without a further upsurge in the initiative of production collectives, without vigorous, interested participation by the toilers themselves in production management.

The principles of the economic system of the USSR, embodied in the draft of the new constitution, are aimed at ensuring the continued unswerving economic advance of the Soviet society and transformation of labor into a primary necessity of life for our people.

The draft contains a new chapter entitled "Social Development and Culture." Matters of social and cultural development of society have never before been so extensively discussed in Soviet constitutions.

The broad toiler masses have risen to the heights of socialist culture during the years of Soviet rule. The draft of the new constitution emphasizes that the Soviet state is concerned with the development of education, science and the arts, with improving the working conditions for our citizens, with raising their level of income, and with growth and just distribution of public consumption funds.

Advanced socialism provides comprehensive social and cultural progress to society and fuller manifestation of the humanist character of the socialist state.

The Soviet state promotes strengthening of the social homogeneity of society, elimination of the substantial differences between city and village, intellectual and physical labor, further development and rapprochement of all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR, that is, creates favorable social and cultural preconditions for achieving the party's program goals -- establishment of Communist societal relations and the forming of a new man.

The second section of the draft of the new constitution is entitled: "State and Individual." Life itself and the socialist reality embodied in the constitutional provisions graphically demonstrate that our society is developing confidently, in conformity with the highest principle advanced by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party": "...The free development of each individual is a condition for the free development of all."

The draft of the new constitution considerably more completely formulates and expands provisions on the rights of Soviet citizens. Taken as an aggregate, these rights and freedoms attest to the firmness of the status of the individual in the socialist society.

The draft constitution specifies for the first time new rights of citizens of the USSR, including the right to housing. This right is guaranteed by the growth of the state and public housing fund, cooperative and individual housing construction, and by correct distribution of housing under the scrutiny of the public, which is also vividly confirmed in the example of our republic, where a total of more than 15 million square meters of housing has been built in the postwar period. In the last five-year plan alone 321,000 persons received apartments or improved housing conditions.

Speaking of the rights of citizens, we must note that, as is pointed out in the draft constitution, utilization by citizens of their rights and freedoms shall not cause detriment to the interests of society and the state or to the rights of other citizens. In his report at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev particularly stressed that the main guarantee of the rights of the Soviet citizen is in the final analysis the might and prosperity of the homeland, that each citizen should feel a responsibility to society to perform conscientiously his duty to the state and to the people.

Proclaiming broad democratic rights and freedoms, the draft constitution inseparably binds them with irreproachable performance of obligations by the citizens. The citizen of the USSR is obligated to toil and to defend the homeland honorably and conscientiously. Obligations to defend the interests of the Soviet state, to foster strengthening of its might and prestige, to assist in defending law and order, to combat pilfering and waste of public property, to protect the environment and to conserve natural resources, to be concerned with the upbringing of children, to develop them into worthy members of the socialist society, are acquiring the character of a constitutional demand. It is the international duty of the citizen of the USSR to promote the development of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of other countries and to maintain and strengthen world peace.

Clearly expressed in the draft constitution is further strengthening of socialist law and order. The party Central Committee and the Soviet state have done considerable work on improving the laws and on creating firm guarantees against any violations of the rights of citizens and bureaucratic distortions. The draft constitution, continuing this policy, emphasizes that observance of the constitution and the laws is the obligation of all agencies of the state and officials, public organizations and citizens.

The third section of the draft constitution: "National-Governmental Arrangement of the USSR," fully preserves the proven fundamental principles of the national-governmental organization of the USSR. Reflecting the objective process of drawing together of our country's nationalities and ethnic groups, the draft constitution proceeds from the necessity of strengthening the union principles of the state. "On the whole treatment in the draft constitution of matters of national-governmental arrangement," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "ensures a genuinely democratic combination of the common interests of the multinational Union and the interests of each of its constituent republics, guaranteeing the comprehensive flourishing and steady drawing together of all our country's nationalities and ethnic groups."

The fourth section of the draft constitution -- "Soviets of People's Deputies and the Procedure of Electing Them" -- defines the principles of activities of the Soviets, the electoral system and the legal status of the people's deputy. The draft constitution introduces necessary changes in the competence of the Soviets and the procedure of their functioning applicable to the tasks of an advanced socialist society. It affirms the principle that the local Soviets of people's deputies settle not only all matters of local significance but also carry out the decisions of higher governmental agencies, participate in discussing matters of republic and national significance, and submit their suggestions on these matters.

The draft constitution details the authorities of central and local governmental bodies, ministries and agencies. In contrast to the present constitution, the draft constitution does not contain a listing of union and union-republic ministries and agencies, since it changes from time to time in conformity with change in current tasks. It will be more correct to place a list of ministries and agencies in a special Law on the Council of Ministers USSR.

In order better to match the terms in office of soviets of all levels with practical planning of economic development for 5-year periods, the term in office for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics have been increased to 5 years, with an increase to two and one half years for local Soviets.

Our society's concern for youth, its confidence in young people and the important role played by the younger generation in building communism are vividly manifested in the reduction of the minimum age for candidates for deputy to Supreme Soviets to 18 years of age.

The new constitution will become a foundation for further legislative activity. Such major legislative enactments as rules of procedure of the Supreme Soviet USSR, a Law on the Council of Ministers USSR, election laws and others are to be promulgated on the basis of the new constitution.

The section of the draft constitution entitled "Justice, Arbitration and Legality Control by Procurator" comprehensively reveals the profoundly democratic nature of Soviet justice, which promotes further strengthening of socialist law and order, fuller enjoyment of the rights and freedoms of the citizens of the USSR, and observance of their equality before the law and the courts.

Of fundamental importance is inclusion for the first time in the draft constitution of a special chapter entitled "Foreign Policy." The necessity of this is dictated by the close interrelationship between the internal and external factors of our development and the vast volume of foreign policy activity of the Soviet state and its vitally important significance to the Soviet people. The foreign policy of the USSR is directed toward securing favorable international conditions for building communism in the USSR, for strengthening the position of world socialism, for support of the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, and for prevention of aggressive wars and consistent implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of nations with differing social systems. For the first time the constitution notes that the Soviet Union is a component part of the world socialist system and of the socialist community.

The chapter entitled "Defense of the Socialist Homeland," also contained for the first time in the constitution, states that the state shall guard the socialist achievements and peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the USSR.

Of great importance is the provision for forming a National Defense Council, included for the first time among the prerogatives of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR.

The draft constitution states that the highest goal of the Soviet state is to build a classless Communist society. The principal tasks of the state are enumerated -- creation of the material and technological foundation for

communism, improvement of socialist societal relations and their transformation into Communist societal relations, indoctrination of man in a Communist society, improvement in toiler living standards and cultural level, securement of national defense, assistance in strengthening peace and development of international cooperation.

These are the new elements characterizing the content of the draft constitution.

Comrades! The draft of the new USSR Constitution and L. I. Brezhnev's report at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee have evoked enormous interest and enthusiastic approval on the part of the toilers of Soviet Estonia.

Following publication of the draft constitution, toiler mass meetings were held everywhere, beginning a broad discussion of this historic document. It is taking place in an atmosphere of great political enthusiasm and even closer unification of Soviet citizens behind the Communist Party.

In their statements at meetings and in numerous responses, Communists and party-unaffiliated unanimously approve the draft Fundamental Law, elaborated in conformity with the principles laid out at the 25th CPSU Congress. They also enthusiastically approve of the election of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev to the post of Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Perceiving the USSR draft constitution as a new and convincing manifestation of the Communist Party's concern for the prosperity of the Soviet state, this republic's toilers declare their resolve to continue in the future toiling selflessly for the good of the homeland and to honor the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution with new achievements in all areas of economic and cultural development.

In the course of discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution workers, kolkhoz farmers, representatives of the intelligentsia, and people of various occupations and ages in this republic have already submitted more than 37,000 suggestions, corrections and additions to the draft constitution.

All toiler suggestions and additions to the USSR draft constitution are being thoroughly synthesized and forwarded to the Constitution Commission.

The ideas, suggestions, corrections and additions to the draft constitution attest to how deeply each and every line of this document has touched people's hearts.

Local Soviet elections were held in this republic on 19 June, in an organized manner and in an atmosphere of great political activeness. The toilers of Soviet Estonia unanimously demonstrated their solidarity behind the Communist Party and expressed their profound confidence in and ardent support for the party's domestic and foreign policy and the fruitful activities of the Central Committee and its Politburo, headed by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.



Deputies of local Soviets in this republic discussed at their first sessions and unanimously approved the USSR draft constitution. It was correctly noted thereby that adoption of the new constitution opens up even greater opportunities for the Soviets to improve their activities. The draft constitution clearly affirms the all-encompassing powers of the Soviets of people's deputies, which comprise a unified system of agencies of government authority, the political foundation of a state of the whole people.

The draft constitution contains a special chapter entitled "People's Deputy," which defines the legal status of deputies to Soviets at all levels. The draft constitution formulates the most important provisions establishing the rights and obligations of deputies and guarantees of deputy activities on the basis of synthesis of new legislation on deputies as well as practical application of this legislation.

With adoption of the new constitution the role of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and of the executive committees of local Soviets becomes particularly important in organizing the activities of the Soviets. They are called upon to make an effort to ensure that the work not only of the presidium proper and executive committees but all forms of functioning of the Soviets: sessions, permanent commissions, as well as the work performed by deputies in the electoral districts -- serve even better to strengthen the activities of the Soviets and promote further enhancement of the role both of the Supreme Soviet and the local Soviets in settling the most important matters in the affairs of the republic and in implementing plans specified by the party.

It has been one and a half months now since the draft constitution was made public. At the present time a most important task of all party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, Soviet and economic agencies of this republic consists in ensuring further maximum extensive, businesslike discussion of the USSR draft constitution. It is essential to utilize the discussion for mobilizing the productive energy of labor collectives for implementation of the historic resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress and successful accomplishment of the tasks of the 10th Five-Year Plan in order to accomplish the principal social and political task -- steady improvement in the living standards and cultural level of our people.

In the course of this work it is necessary comprehensively to show the activities of the Communist Party pertaining to establishment and consolidation of the Soviet Socialist State and the decisive role of the masses in building the new society.

While showing the successes in building socialism, one cannot ignore deficiencies existing in our work; steps must be taken to improve the activities of all Soviet and economic agencies as well as steps to ensure unswerving observance of Soviet laws.

We must thoroughly synthesize all toiler suggestions presented in the course of discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution at meetings in party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, labor collectives, in Soviets, and in local and republic newspapers.

The newly-elected executive committees of local Soviets must pay greater attention to examination of suggestions, statements and complaints by citizens and must increase the responsibility of officials for immediate and exhaustive measures in response to toiler warnings and critical comments.

Comrade deputies! In his report at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that in connection with adoption of the new USSR Constitution it is also necessary to draft and ratify new constitutions of the union and autonomous republics.

The present Constitution of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was adopted by the State Duma of the Estonian SSR on 25 August 1940.

Considerable changes have taken place in our republic in the almost 37 years since passage of the first Constitution of the Estonian SSR. Major, fundamental changes have affected all aspects of societal affairs. All these changes must be reflected in the new Constitution of the Estonian SSR.

We shall be drafting a new constitution of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. It is proposed that this responsible task be entrusted to a Constitution Commission of the Estonian SSR, consisting of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR.

The draft constitution of the Estonian SSR shall be submitted to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of this republic and subsequently submitted for discussion by the population at large.

Comrade Kebin stated further that this republic's industry has successfully completed the production tasks of the first half of the jubilee year. The target pertaining to manufacture and sale of the majority of major products was met ahead of schedule, by 27 June. Additional sale of industrial products totaled almost 40 million rubles, with a pledge to produce 50 million rubles worth of above-target output by the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The production growth rate has substantially exceeded the growth rate targeted for this year. All industrial output growth has been achieved entirely through an increase in labor productivity.

Pledges pertaining to turning out product with the state Seal of Quality are being met ahead of schedule.

Agricultural workers are toiling hard to meet ambitious socialist pledges to increase production and procurement of agricultural products. Farm workers performed the spring planting in an organized fashion and on an optimal agrotechnical timetable. Acreage planted in grains to be harvested in 1977 has been increased by 19,000 hectares or by 5.2%. Fine grain and potato crops are ripening in the fields of our kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

Sale of agricultural products to the state increased in the first half of this year. Livestock purchases were up 2% over 1976, and 7% in the public

sector; milk purchases were up 0.8% for all sectors, and 8% in the public sector, while eggs were up 5%. Feed preparation is being conducted under difficult weather conditions. The pace of hay mowing, haymaking, preparation of hay silage and grass meal is greater than last year. All farm workers are laboring persistently to build a solid foundation for meeting targets and socialist pledges of the jubilee year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The decisions of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the draft of the new USSR Constitution have evoked broad international response. The stream of foreign responses to the draft constitution attests to the fact that extensive segments of the world community view it as a document of great international significance.

The international response evoked by the draft of the new USSR Constitution is so great that even imperialist propaganda is unable to silence it.

It was noted at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that we must be prepared for stepped-up attacks by the class enemy on our socialist system. Under these conditions it is particularly important to propagandize the Soviet socialist way of life even more vividly and consistently, and to defend firmly and in a well-argued manner our convictions and principles in the struggle against bourgeois propaganda and its accomplices.

It is highly symbolic that the new USSR Constitution will be adopted in the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The draft constitution affirms the historic revolutionary achievements of the Soviet people, their successes in the struggle to build a Communist society; the victories won on the difficult path blazed by the Soviet people -- the pioneer of communism -- constitute a direct continuation of the cause of the October Revolution and embodiment of the ideas of the great Lenin.

"Adoption of the new USSR Constitution," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "will become an important landmark in our country's political history. It will become one more historic contribution by our Leninist party, our socialist state, and the entire Soviet people toward the great cause of building communism, and at the same time to the international cause of the struggle of the toilers of the entire world for freedom, for progress by mankind, and for firm peace on earth."

The nationwide discussion of the draft constitution should activate all societal affairs to an even greater extent, awakening new productive forces, giving an even greater scope to socialist competition to ensure that this signal jubilee -- the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution -- is properly honored with excellent results.

I should like to express my confidence that you, comrade deputies, and the deputies of all local Soviets as well as all the toilers of our republic will apply all their energies toward accomplishing today's most important tasks of building a Communist society.

Permit me on your behalf to assure the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally that we will do everything to carry out the historic resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the socialist pledges adopted for the 10th Five-Year Plan.

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VOSS REPORT TO LATVIAN SUPREME SOVIET

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 15 Jul 77 pp 1-2

[Speech by A. E. Voss, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia: "On the Draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Tasks of the Soviets of Toiler Deputies of the Latvian SSR Proceeding from the Report by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May (1977) CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Comrade Deputies!

This year will occupy a special place in the history of our country. This is the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. At the same time this is the year of adoption of the new USSR Constitution -- a constitution of advanced socialism and developing communism.

As we know, a CPSU Central Committee plenum was held on 24 May 1977, which heard and discussed a report by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Constitution Commission, entitled "On the Draft Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

This outstanding political and ideological-theoretical document presents a thorough description of the draft Fundamental Law of the Soviet State and reveals its historic significance. The report reflects in concentrated form the results of the six decades during which the Soviet people has followed the Leninist path.

Preparation of the draft of the new constitution constituted the result of considerable and diversified work and analysis of the results of the development of Soviet society and the international situation during the 40 years following adoption of the present constitution. The draft constitution rests on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory and fully takes into account the conclusions and theses advanced by our party in recent years on the basis of innovative synthesis of the experience of building communism and world development.

All work connected with preparing the draft of the new constitution was performed under the direct supervision and with the active participation of the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo, and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

The basic outline of the draft constitution was specified at the 25th CPSU Congress. The Central Committee Report to the CPSU Congress stated that the new USSR Constitution should reflect the great victories of socialism and specify the main features of the advanced socialist society, its political organization, principles of direction of the nation's economy and other areas of societal affairs, and should provide for further development of socialist democracy.

"With this," stated L. I. Brezhnev at the congress, "we shall emphasize the humanistic character of the socialist state as a state which sets for itself the goal of building communism in the interests of the toiler, in the interests of the entire people." This statement is fully embodied in the draft of the new constitution.

The May (1977) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee essentially approved the draft submitted by the Constitution Commission and recommended that it be submitted to a nationwide discussion.

The toilers of our republic, just as the entire country, received the USSR draft constitution with a feeling of patriotic pride. Everywhere, in all labor collectives, in cities, towns and villages, literally in every house and in every family, this most important document is being enthusiastically discussed. It has evoked a powerful upsurge of political and labor activity on the part of the masses in all areas of societal affairs. It has become a powerful stimulus to initiative and innovation on the part of the millions of people who are competing to honor the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and for successful fulfillment of the targets of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

On the occasion of the draft of the new constitution, many participants in mass rallies and meetings are accepting new socialist pledges and are coming forth with boosted countertargets.

The toilers of Soviet Latvia learned with great enthusiasm of the results of the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Expressing the will of all Soviet citizens, this session, at a joint session of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, passed unanimously and with great enthusiasm a decree electing CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. This decree, issued by the highest agency of government authority, in conformity with the decision of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, contains profound political meaning. It reflects the enhanced role of the Communist Party, which comprises the nucleus of our entire political system and of all toiler organizations -- state and public.

It is universally acknowledged -- both here and abroad -- that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, our party's leader and Chairman of the Defense Council, is de facto our head of state. It is precisely Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev who worthily represents the Soviet Union in the international arena, who holds talks and conducts correspondence with other heads of state, and who signs major documents on behalf of our country.

It is therefore entirely logical that our country's political leader -- The CPSU Central Committee General Secretary -- has also become the constitutional head of state. This is in conformity with the higher interests of the Soviet society and state and will foster future successes in implementing the historic resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress as well as new successes in building communism.

This is a reflection of the nation's unbounded confidence in and profound respect for Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev -- a glorious son of the Leninist party, eminent political leader and statesmen, and tireless champion of peace and communism.

The toilers of our republic, as the entire Soviet people, wish Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev good health and continued success in his selfless campaign for the people's happiness, for peace and social progress on earth.

Universal approval of the draft constitution, the decisions of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR constitute vivid confirmation of the indestructible unity of the Soviet people and its monolithic solidarity behind the Communist Party and its Central Committee.

This is persuasively indicated by the results of the recent meeting of the republic's party activists, party committee plenary sessions, sessions of Soviets, mass rallies and meetings of labor collectives.

This is indicated by numerous letters received by party, Soviet and other agencies, newspaper offices, radio and television stations, the new upsurge in political and labor activeness, and a broad scale of socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

This is strongly emphasized by the results of the recent local Soviet elections. The unanimous support of the solid block of Communists and party-unaffiliated was demonstrated by the unanimity shown in voting for the elected representatives of the people.

An absolute majority of voters -- 99.99% -- cast their ballots. Many ballots contained notes in which the voters expressed their patriotic feelings, their patriotic approval of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, and their aspiration to increase the fame of the homeland with their labor.

More and more additional toiler masses are being constantly drawn into active, direct participation in governing the affairs of society. In the recent elections almost half of the deputies were elected for the first time.

Soviet deputies and their numerous activists constitute a great political force. This is why it is so important that each deputy fully carry out his lofty obligations.

The elected Soviets should work hard to achieve further development of the economy, to raise living standards and improve toiler services and indoctrination. They will be doing a great deal in connection with the nationwide discussion of the USSR draft constitution..

A meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was held on 17 June of this year, under the chairmanship of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev; the question of the work of Soviets in the Ukrainian SSR and Lithuanian SSR on organizing the nationwide discussion of the USSR draft constitution was discussed at this meeting.

In his speech at the Presidium session, L. I. Brezhnev substantiated the necessity and outlined the ways to achieve further improvement in the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium in connection with the decisions of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and stated tasks connected with further development of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution.

The nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution will run for several months. A special session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR will be held in October, to examine and ratify the new Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Comrades!

Adoption of the new USSR Constitution will be of enormous, genuinely historic significance. The new constitution will unquestionably promote further activation of all sociopolitical affairs in our country, will constitute a vivid, inspiring example for the toilers of the capitalist countries in their liberation struggle, and will become a genuine code of world socialism.

In his report delivered at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, characterizing the basic principles of the draft of the new constitution, its theoretical and practical foundation, particularly noted that the entire content of this important political document, each section, each chapter, and each article are permeated with Leninist ideals and embody the behests of Lenin.

The draft constitution synthesizes all the best elements provided by the practical building of a socialist state as well as the constitutional experience of our country and the brother socialist nations.

An increase in the scale and complexity of the tasks performed by the Soviet people under party guidance at the present stage of building



communism, higher organization of the societal and governmental system under conditions of advanced socialism, and the broad political and theoretical foundation of the draft of the new constitution placed their imprint on its content, structure and volume.

In comparison with the present Fundamental Law, the draft contains more chapters (21 as compared with 13) and articles (173 as compared with 146).

The adoption of new sections, chapters and articles has made it possible more fully to present the basic constitutional points and principles pertaining to vitally important areas of governmental and societal affairs and more fully to reveal the essence and thrust of advanced socialism as well as the new features inherent in our system.

As was pointed out at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, in the four decades which have passed since adoption of the present USSR Constitution, profound changes have taken place in our society.

An advanced, mature socialist society has been built in the Soviet Union.

As a result of successes in building socialism achieved under the guidance of the Communist Party, major, fundamental changes have affected all aspects of life in our society.

The nation's economy has changed unrecognizably. Socialist ownership totally prevails.

The powerful, unified organism of the national economy is developing on the foundation of a combination of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist system. The social homogeneity of the Soviet society is growing. The indestructible alliance of the worker class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia has become even stronger.

Differences between basic social groups are gradually becoming obliterated.

Our country's nationalities and ethnic groups are drawing increasingly closer together in the course of their daily lives. A new and historic community of people has been formed -- the Soviet people.

With the building of mature socialism and transition to the ideological-political positions of the worker class by all strata of society, the Soviet state, which arose as a dictatorship of the proletariat, has developed into a state of the whole people.

The international position of the Soviet Union and the entire sociopolitical countenance of the world have changed greatly. Capitalist encirclement of the USSR has come to an end. Socialism has been transformed into a world system, and a powerful socialist community has formed. The position of

world capitalism has become greatly weakened. Dozens of young nations, former colonies, are opposed to imperialism. There is today a realistic possibility of preventing another world war.

Supported by what they have achieved, the Soviet people under the guidance of the party are today accomplishing new tasks -- building the material and technological foundation for communism, gradual transformation of socialist into Communist societal relations, and indoctrination of people in a spirit of Communist awareness.

All these changes are reflected in the draft of the new USSR Constitution, elaborated in conformity with the principles laid out at the 25th CPSU Congress.

Discussing the draft of the new constitution, the toilers of Soviet Latvia speak proudly of those enormous positive changes which have taken place in the republic, as throughout the entire Soviet Union.

Thanks to the daily concern of the Communist Party and feeling the positive influence of the indestructible friendship and fraternal mutual assistance of all the Soviet peoples, and particularly the great Russian people, the toilers of the Latvian SSR have achieved truly enormous results in all areas of economic, social and cultural affairs.

All our success is a result of the fraternal friendship of the Soviet peoples, fruits of their joint labor, a direct result of the internationalist character of our economy.

Arrival of a Latvian delegation in Moscow in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution is vivid evidence of the indestructible ties of the great union of republics.

These days we are addressing the most heartfelt words of gratitude to all the peoples of the Soviet Union, and particularly the great Russian people, for fraternal friendship, and for that constant and unselfish assistance we have felt at all stages of the struggle for Soviet rule, for building socialism and communism.

The entire history of the Soviet state confirms its strength and vitality, its unconquerability, its profound democracy and humanism. This experience, reflected in the draft constitution, is an outstanding example of resolution of the nationalities question. It proves that the basic features of the federative structure of the USSR have proven totally effective.

Profound satisfaction has been evoked in all our people by the fact that the draft constitution properly reflects the leadership role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

At all stages our Leninist party has honorably carried out and is carrying out its historic role, constituting the tested vanguard of the Soviet people, is sacredly carrying out the behest of the great Lenin -- to direct and organize the new system, to act as teacher, supervisor and leader of all the toilers.

The main direction in the development of our political system is further broadening and deepening of socialist democracy.

Public organizations have always been, to quote Lenin, assistants of the party, constant and invariable participants in governing the nation. Their significance as an inseparable part of the political system and an important channel for involving toilers in governing the affairs of society is particularly enhanced under conditions of advanced socialism, when they encompass practically this country's entire adult population.

It is for this reason that the role played in this country's affairs by the trade unions, Komsomol, cooperative and other mass public organizations and toiler collectives is so extensively reflected in the draft constitution. Their prestige and significance within the political system is becoming increasingly greater. They enjoy the right of participation in determining political, economic and sociocultural matters as well as the right of legislative initiative.

Today we can state quite firmly that the draft constitution is receiving support, nationwide and total support because each and every chapter, each and every article, each and every line of this document is in conformity with the root interests of the toilers and reflects their thoughts and aspirations. Affirming the socialist way of life and our democracy, it guarantees genuine equality to our citizens and their genuine rights. And the most important right is the right to a free, happy and joyous life, to comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual.

Our citizens are not oppressed by the alarming concern, which insults human dignity, that one may end up without a job, without education, without shelter, without care in one's old age or in case of sickness, that one may be left out of the mainstream of life. And yet this happens quite frequently in countries where capital rules.

Soviet citizens are well aware, and this is reemphasized in the draft constitution, that our party and state invest enormous efforts to ensure steady and unswerving improvement in living standards and the cultural level of the people, that the constitution protects their honor and dignity and guarantees inviolability of person, property, residence, and protection of health.

All requisite conditions have been created in this country for active citizen participation in governing the nation and in all societal affairs.

Thus the draft of the new constitution is a document of vast political, mobilizing force. It is the greatest summary statement of the entire history of development of the socialist society, a result in which are concentrated the wisdom and experience of the Leninist Party and the creative genius of our people.

Comrades!

In connection with publication of the draft of the new USSR Constitution for nationwide discussion, party, Soviet and public organizations of this republic are performing large-scale and very important organizational and mass-political work. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that this is a matter of primary importance for all our organizations, for all our cadres, a matter of vital interest to the Soviets. They are called upon to reach practically the entire population, to ensure a broad, free, truly businesslike discussion of the draft, and to give precise and clear political orientation to this responsible business. All this is envisaged in the concrete measures on organization of the discussion of the draft constitution in this republic, approved by the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia.

It is important to keep a precise record and to synthesize comments and suggestions coming in from toilers during discussion of the draft constitution, as well as immediate and practical response to criticism and comments made at meetings and in numerous letters to party, Soviet and other bodies, to newspaper and magazine editors, to television and radio stations.

It is the job of the Soviets to take active part in organizing extensive agitation-propaganda work to explain and clarify the draft of the new constitution, the points and conclusions contained in the report by L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and his address at the session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Deputies, personnel from cultural-educational establishments, our intelligentsia and all activists should be recruited for this job.

The content of mass-political work should be convincing propaganda on the enormous achievements and advantages of the socialist system and our Soviet way of life, a resolute rebuff to acts of ideological sabotage and slanderous campaigns by bourgeois ideologues on the contrived business of "human rights" in the socialist countries, and demonstration, employing concrete examples, of the antihumanitarian essence of the capitalist system and the absence of real guarantees of individual rights and freedoms under the conditions of a bourgeois society.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted in his report at the May Plenum that it will be necessary, losing no time, to draft and ratify new constitutions of the union and autonomous republics. In connection with this the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia and the Presidium of the Supreme

Soviet of this republic are submitting today for the consideration of this session a proposal to set up a commission to draft a constitution of the Latvian SSR and on the makeup of such a commission.

Comrades! Discussion of the draft of the new constitution and preparations to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution are organically linked measures which supplement one another. They should help activate all societal affairs, give impetus to productive forces, further broadening of socialist competition, and improvement of all political and economic results of the present year -- the year of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution.

As you know, in the course of discussing the draft of the new USSR Constitution, much attention is focused on further improvement in the activities of the Soviets, their executive bodies, permanent commissions, deputies, and improvement in the performance of all echelons of government administration.

Specifying tasks pertaining to further improvement in the activities of the Soviets, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated: "The Communist Party has always proceeded from the position that every Soviet is a component of supreme authority, that it is not only invested with powers to settle all matters falling within its competence but also constitutes a bearer of national decisions. This, comrades, is an exceptionally important principle. Such a unity of the highest-level and local bodies, reliance by the supreme authorities on local initiative reflect the main essence of the Soviets -- their inseparable bond with the masses.... The Soviets are a living, moving, constantly renewing organization of the people. Just as they at one time succeeded in uniting into a common path the revolutionary movement of the masses and their efforts in building socialism, today, under conditions of advanced socialism, the work of the Soviets should even more fully incorporate the campaign to increase efficiency of production, for implementation of the broad social program laid out by the party, and for development of all aspects of our socialist democracy, that is, for accomplishing the tasks of building communism."

We should emphasize that L. I. Brezhnev's address at the session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR constitutes a precise program of action for all Soviets -- from top to bottom. Therefore each Soviet of toiler deputies should draft corresponding measures and be guided by them in its daily activities.

The draft constitution provides that local Soviets, proceeding from the national interest and the interests of the citizens residing in their territory, shall not only settle all matters of local significance and implement the decisions of higher bodies but also, within the limits of their powers, monitor and coordinate the activities of all enterprises, establishments and organizations in the area of land use, environmental protection, construction, manufacture of consumer goods, social-cultural and personal services for the population.

Our constitution was one of the first anywhere in the world to proclaim a vitally important right of Soviet citizens -- the right to housing. The guaranteed nature of this right became possible and will be increasingly more fully secured as a result of implementation of an extensive program of housing construction financed by the state, just and fair distribution of housing under public scrutiny, low rents, encouragement of and assistance to cooperative and individual housing construction.

This provision of the Fundamental Law places even greater responsibility on all Soviets and their executive committees for general and unconditional execution of the extensive housing construction program and for strict observance of the rules of distribution of apartments.

Local Soviets of toiler deputies are doing considerable work to provide services and amenities for cities and towns, rayon centers, worker and kolkhoz communities.

Capabilities to achieve these goals have substantially increased in recent years. The budgets of the local Soviets are growing year by year. In addition, they are empowered to concentrate the funds of enterprises, kolkhozes, establishments and public organizations and to channel these funds into construction of housing, utilities and service facilities.

Each Soviet of toiler deputies is obliged not only to utilize all funds allocated to it but also funds obtained on a cooperative basis, pursuant to the provisions of the law, naturally, to provide public services and amenities for cities, towns and all communities, to build more housing, children's and medical facilities, stores, restaurants, clubhouses, movie theaters and personal services facilities.

Concern for improving the cultural-services, medical and merchandising services for the public is the direct duty and obligation of government entities -- from the republic Supreme Soviet to all local Soviets.

One important task of the Soviets is securement of a high production efficiency on the territory under their jurisdiction, and absolute fulfillment of state plans by all work forces.

All this demands further improvement in mass-organizational work by the Soviets, establishment of a Leninist, party style in the activities of all authorities and administrative bodies, instillment in all personnel of an innovative, responsible attitude toward their job.

We must ensure unswerving observance of the demands of the Law on the Status of Deputies to Soviets, with a more businesslike performance at the sessions, by the permanent commissions and executive committees. There should prevail everywhere well-conceived organization of the training of deputies, particularly those elected to Soviets for the first time.

Emphasized in the draft constitution is such a fundamental aspect of the work of the Soviets as monitoring of strict observance of socialist law and order.

A vigorous campaign must be waged against violations of state discipline, signs of localistic tendencies, a narrow parochial approach to things, against inefficiency and waste, red tape and bureaucracy.

Volunteer inspection bodies should play an important role in this.

It is also necessary to improve the work of the procuratorship, the courts, arbitration and other agencies charged with securing strict observance of Soviet laws. They must display even greater initiative, high principles, and implacability in the struggle against all violations of Soviet law and order.

In short, the Soviets, their executive and administrative agencies should constantly compare their own performance, that of all organizations, agencies and officials with the demands of the constitution, directing all their activities toward ensuring that at all levels and echelons there is unswerving observance of the constitutional provisions both pertaining to the rights and obligations of citizens. These are important tasks of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, of the republic government, ministries and agencies.

It is quite clear to all of us, comrades, that the work done by the Soviets in clarifying and discussing the draft Fundamental Law should be organically combined with the performance of concrete economic-political tasks.

Therefore permit me in this connection to discuss some matters dealing with economic development, particularly the state of affairs in industry.

On 29 June this republic's industry completed the target for the first 6 months in product sales volume and output of the majority of the major product items. Above-target product sales amounted to more than 43 million rubles. Total production growth was 3.8% over last year, with the year's target 3.3%. Certain success was achieved in further intensification of production, increased production efficiency, improvement in the technical level and quality of manufactured products.

For the majority of the republic's ministries, agencies and many enterprises of all-union subordination, the entire production volume growth was secured by an increase in labor productivity.

Output of top quality category product increased by almost one third in the first 6 months of this year in comparison with the same period last year, and it represents more than 10% of total output volume.

Targets and socialist pledges are being successfully met on the whole in the other sectors of the republic's economy. Thus the preconditions have been created for ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of this year's targets.

There are, however, substantial deficiencies and unresolved problems in the work of practically all branches and sectors of the economy, which diminishes the effectiveness of the campaign to honor the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. There is still a large number of industrial enterprises which are failing to meet their state plan targets. A number of enterprises have failed to meet the 6-months target in product sales. In this connection A. E. Voss's report contained criticism directed at the republic Ministry of the Building Materials Industry, which has performed worse this year. As was noted in the report, some enterprises of the ministries of local industry, light industry, the woodworking industry, construction, forestry and forest industry, the Radiotekhnika Production Administration, the railroad car construction plant, the RAF Plant and others have also failed to meet their targets.

The main reasons for this situation are weak organization of production and labor at lagging enterprises, insufficient effort to find and utilize internal production reserves, little sense of responsibility on the part of some managers and administrators for observing party and state discipline.

Many of our ministries and agencies, city and rayon party committees, as well as executive committees of local Soviets have not yet taken effective measures to support the movement initiated in Rostov under the slogan "Work Without Lagging Work Forces."

Concern is evoked by some of the qualitative performance indices of our industry, and particularly the fact that socialist pledges to secure in this jubilee year all production volume growth through increasing labor productivity are under threat of failure.

In the first 6 months of this year labor productivity improvement accounted for only 82% of gross output increase, while it was even lower for the ministries of procurements, construction, the Fisheries Administration, the Diesel Construction Plant and Ship Repair Yards, the Elektroiinstrument Plant, the Valmiyera Fiberglass Plant, and the Olayne Plastics Processing Plant.

This situation is due in large measure to deficiencies in planning labor productivity growth.

The task now consists in ensuring that socialist pledges of the jubilee year pertaining to labor productivity growth are unconditionally met by each enterprise, ministry and agency.

We must campaign more vigorously against situations where enterprises maintain an above-target number of workers, as well as campaigning for strengthening labor discipline and reducing labor turnover.

We must marshal and utilize all reserve potential for achieving labor productivity growth. A no less important task is that of further improving the quality of manufactured product.



Our industry possesses considerable capabilities to achieve a sharp increase in the manufacture of products bearing the Seal of Quality. Suffice it to say that more than one third of the enterprises whose products are subject to certification do not yet produce a single top quality category item.

In addition, ministries and agencies, city and rayon party committees, executive committees of Soviets, business executives and enterprise party organizations must show greater concern for improving utilization of fixed productive assets, economical expenditure of raw materials and supplies, observance of a strict economy regimen in large and small, and must work more vigorously to combat various kinds of production losses.

The problem of achieving savings in fuel-energy resources, including fuels and lubricants, is particularly critical.

Business executives who permit overexpenditure beyond established expenditure standards and limits of consumption of these resources should undertake more severe measures.

Problems of prime importance must be resolved in the area of capital construction.

This republic's construction workers should concentrate available material and manpower resources on near-completion projects, should concentrate efforts on overcoming the lag they have allowed to develop, and should ensure unconditional fulfillment of targets pertaining to putting production facilities on-stream, completing housing, children's establishments, schools, hospitals and other social-cultural facilities.

The performance of a number of branches and sectors of our republic's economy are determined in large measure by how the construction workers perform their tasks.

Branches and sectors serving the economy have a high responsibility for meeting targets and socialist pledges. Some of them, however, are doing a poor job of fulfilling their obligations.

We must level particular complaints in this connection against supply agencies. In the first 6 months of the year this republic's Glavsnab has failed to spend considerable amounts of allocated funds for metal, lumber, raw materials for the chemical industry as well as many other items.

Recently there has been somewhat of an improvement in rail freight hauling. Nevertheless many industrial enterprises continue to experience considerable difficulties in marketing their finished product due to inadequate and delayed arrival of freight cars and containers.

Much remains to be done by the agricultural workers of this republic. We must obtain a gross grain harvest which will exceed last year's harvest. This is a tough, ambitious target, but entirely achievable. Kolkhozes and sovkhoses successfully completed the spring planting and promptly began caring for the growing crops. On the whole grains are developing well and

promise a pretty fair harvest. In addition, this year grain-planted acreage has increased significantly, as has acreage planted in high-yield varieties.

Rayon party committees, rayon executive committees, the Ministry of Agriculture and local agricultural agencies must take all necessary measures to ensure unconditional fulfillment of grain production pledges.

It is necessary to establish strict supervision and be more demanding on farm managers and agricultural specialists to ensure full and proper utilization of all acreage designated for grain, punishing individuals who have permitted this acreage to be utilized for other purposes.

At the present time there is no more important task on the farm than feed production. It is essential to work persistently to ensure that every farm is fully supplied with coarse feeds. Evaluation of the performance of farm managers and specialists will be performed in relation to the results of providing feed to the communal livestock operation.

In order to achieve the stated targets in output of livestock products, party rayon committees and rayon executive committees should ensure that all farms produce feed in the amount of not less than 16-17 quintals of feed units per conditional head of cattle.

Special attention must be focused on those farms which fail to meet feed production targets year after year.

And now a few words about livestock raising. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses have done considerable work to increase their livestock herds and poultry flocks, to increase output and purchases of livestock products. All this is influencing results. Milk production on this republic's farms for the first 6 months of this year increased by 12% over the same period last year; meat production was up 14%, and eggs -- 12%. There has been a head increase in all categories of livestock.

We are pleased by the success achieved in dairy farming. The average milk yield per cow increased by 152 kilograms in the first 6 months of this year.

Kolkhozes and sovkhoses have also achieved considerable improvement in meat production. They have increased the average daily weight gain in stock being fattened for slaughter and the weight conditions of stock sold to the state. On the whole they have overcome the lag which existed at the beginning of the year in sale of livestock and poultry.

Milk sold to the state was up 9% over the same period last year, while livestock and poultry were up 5%, and eggs -- 15%.

This republic's farms possess all requisite conditions for successfully fulfilling pledges pertaining to production and sale to the state of all types of livestock products.

At the same time we should note that in some rayons problems of accelerated development of livestock raising continue to be resolved slowly; the production growth rate for livestock lags substantially behind socialist pledges.

Assigned targets pertaining to increasing production and purchases of livestock products on some farms are not being bolstered by thorough analysis of the state of affairs in livestock raising, determination of the reasons for the lag, and vigorous organizational work.

Harvest time is drawing closer. The attention of party, Soviet and economic agencies as well as all agricultural workers should be focused on thorough preparation and organized conduct of harvest activities.

The main task is to prevent harvest losses and successfully to meet our targets and socialist pledges.

As you see, comrades, we are faced with great and responsible tasks. But we possess all capabilities for accomplishing them successfully, for achieving considerable success in all branches and sectors of the economy.

Comprehensively developing the creative initiative of the toilers and organizing vigorous discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution, this republic's Soviets, each and every deputy are called upon to focus all efforts on extending even more broadly the campaign to meet the targets of the five-year plan as well as pledges in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

There is no doubt whatsoever that further discussion of the draft constitution will even more solidly unite all the toilers of this republic behind the Leninist CPSU Central Committee.

Permit me, esteemed comrade deputies, on behalf of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Latvia, the Presidium of the Republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, to express firm confidence that the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, expressing the opinion of all toilers, by unanimous approval of the draft of the new USSR Constitution will once again demonstrate the total dedication of the Latvian people to the cause of the Leninist party.

3024

CSO: 1800

## GRISHKYAVICHUS REPORT TO LITHUANIAN SUPREME SOVIET

Vil'nyus SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 2 Jul 77 pp 1-2

[Speech by P. Grishkyavichus, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania: "On the Draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Tasks of the Soviets of the Lithuanian SSR Proceeding from the Decisions of the May (1977) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Report by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Deputies!

This jubilee year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is marked by signal events and new, significant deeds in carrying out the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress. This is a time of unprecedented political and production enthusiasm. There is occurring throughout the country vigorous discussion of the decisions of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the report by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Constitution Commission, presented at the Plenum, the draft of the new constitution and the results of the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The entire Soviet people enthusiastically approves of these documents, which are of exceptional political importance; they have been met with broad, affirmative response throughout the world.

It is with great satisfaction and vigorous approval that the toilers of Soviet Lithuania, just as the entire Soviet people, greeted the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR electing Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

This is a decree of great political and governmental significance, corresponding to the highest interests of the Soviet society and state. Our party and the entire Soviet people know Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as an outstanding figure in the Communist Party, the Soviet state, and the international Communist movement. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is devoting his outstanding abilities as an organizer, as a shrewd politician, a statesman of

the Leninist type, is dedicating his entire life to selfless service to the people and the building of communism. This has earned him enormous confidence and affection by our party and the Soviet people.

The election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as head of the Soviet state is a manifestation of the growing role of the Communist Party in all this country's affairs, a firm guarantee of future victories in resolving problems of strengthening peace and ensuring the security of peoples. The Soviet people and the toilers of all countries link the name of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev with full justification with the victories of peace-seeking and progressive forces; they see in his activities a guarantee of additional victories.

Soviet citizens eagerly learned of the address by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, at which the question of the work of the Soviets of the Ukrainian SSR and Lithuanian SSR on organizing a nationwide discussion of the draft constitution was discussed.

All of us, comrades, were deeply moved by the great attention displayed at the session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR toward the work of this republic's Soviets pertaining to organization of discussion of the draft constitution. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and this republic's Council of Ministers, permit me to assure the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, that the toilers of Soviet Lithuania, vigorously discussing the draft constitution, will campaign even more persistently for accomplishment of all tasks assigned by the party and to honor the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Comrades! Elections to local Soviets took place on 19 June in this republic, as throughout the country. These elections became a genuinely nationwide review of the activities of the Soviets, their executive committees, and each deputy in carrying out the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress. They took place in an organized manner, with a high degree of political activeness on the part of the voters.

The elections once again demonstrated the unity of all toilers and their monolithic solidarity behind the Communist Party and Soviet Government. In the electoral wards many warm words were spoken about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee. The voters sincerely greeted the election of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and noted his enormous contribution toward building communism.

This year deputies were elected to 44 rayon, 92 city, 7 rayon (in cities), 538 apilinke and 20 settlement Soviets in our republic. The results of the elections have been published. In the course of this election campaign 28,276 deputies were elected to local Soviets, 43.8% of whom had not served as deputies during the previous term.

Workers and kolkhoz farmers comprise 67% of the deputies, while 48.9% are women, and 43.9% are Communists. Deputies to the local Soviets are representatives of all branches and sectors of the economy, outstanding individuals in production, persons who are successfully meeting the targets of the 10th Five-Year Plan and their socialist pledges. Alongside individuals possessing great life experience there are many young people, Komsomol members -- active production workers and public-spirited citizens. 34% of the deputies are 30 years of age or less. This attests to the great attention toward recruiting young people to the job of conducting the nation's affairs.

Permit me to offer heartfelt thanks to party organizations of the cities, towns and rayons, Soviet bodies, members of electoral commissions, all those who through their conscientious labor greatly assisted in an organized, smooth conduct of elections to local Soviets.

As we know, considerable work has already been accomplished in this republic on discussion of the draft of the new USSR Constitution. Hundreds of mass meetings have been held of toiler work forces. The draft and the tasks proceeding from the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May (1977) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee have been discussed at meetings of party activists in this republic, in the cities and rayons, at initial sessions of city and rayon Soviets. This matter was also extensively discussed at open party meetings and by work forces. Top-echelon party, Soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic personnel, persons active in science and culture, specialists from all sectors of the economy, and propagandists have been actively involved in clarifying the draft constitution. This republic's press, radio and television are doing a big job in this area.

It is pleasant to note that the discussion is being conducted in an organized manner, at a high ideological-political level, and that many wishes and suggestions are being suggested. Unanimously approving the draft constitution, the Leninist course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its domestic and foreign policy, workers, kolkhoz farmers, and the intelligentsia of this republic are responding to the party's concern with selfless labor, striving to meet their socialist pledges and to honor the jubilee of the Great October Revolution.

Hundreds of letters received by party and Soviet agencies, our newspapers, radio and television stations attest to the unanimous approval of the draft constitution as well as the pride of the toilers in our Soviet homeland and our socialist way of life. Here are only a few moving lines.

"It states in the constitution," writes Stase Gilite, a milkmaid on the Dzukiya Kolkhoz in Lazdiyskiy Rayon and deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in a letter to the newspaper TIYESA, "that our society is a society of genuine democracy, the political system of which ensures efficient management of all societal affairs and increasingly active toiler participation in government.

"Our kolkhoz farmers have clearly seen the truth of this statement in their life experience. I, the daughter of a former landless farm laborer, have been elected to the country's supreme governmental body and participate in deciding the affairs of state. An additional 19 of our most respected people are deputies to the rayon and apilinke Soviets. All of us are genuine masters of our country. There is not a single item of importance in the life of our rayon in the determination of which the people of our kolkhoz do not participate."

"The new constitution is of enormous significance to this country's affairs," writes war veteran Leonid Sosner, a mechanic at the Kaunas Knitwear Production Association imeni A. Shyauchyunayte. "Vividly evident in it is the fundamental goal of the socialist state -- continuous improvement in the prosperity and culture of the entire people."

"It is logical that the published document devotes a special article to work forces. It states that toiler work forces take part in discussing matters of sociopolitical affairs, the economic activities of enterprises, organization of labor and the activities of daily life. This will help enhance the role of work forces in the country's affairs."

"As a representative of the musical arts, I am particularly struck by Chapter 27 of the Constitution, which discusses protection and fostering of the spiritual values of society," states composer Stasis Vaynyunas, People's Artist of the Lithuanian SSR. "We shall recall that in the decree signed in 1918 V. I. Lenin speaks about state musical indoctrination, thus opening up new horizons for the development of the musical art, stating the task that art should serve the people and should be a reliable support in the people's struggle for a bright Communist future. Even today this statement by V. I. Lenin contains amazing vitality."

Such heartfelt words are being spoken today by Soviet citizens, discussing the draft of our country's Fundamental Law.

## I

Creation of a new constitution is a historical necessity, the essence of which was exhaustively described in the report by L. I. Brezhnev at the plenum.

The draft constitution is based on precise and concrete party instructions, the ideas of V. I. Lenin on the essence of the Soviet Constitution and the paths of development of the socialist state, the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the theses and conclusions in speeches by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, as well as other party documents. A most important role was played by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Constitution Commission, in preparing the draft, and he had the greatest work load. It was precisely his instructions of fundamental significance, based on profound political and scientific sagacity, and his active organizational activities which made the draft constitution become a document of exceptional historic significance.

The draft constitution exhaustively characterizes advanced socialism and defines the matters of its political and economic system, social development and culture, and foreign policy. Socialist democracy, the extensive rights, freedoms and obligations of Soviet citizens, the national-governmental system of the USSR, the structure of agencies of governmental authority and administration are particularly vividly reflected in the draft constitution. These and other important principles comprise the essence and content of the draft Fundamental Law of the Soviet state.

A particularly important feature of the draft of the new constitution is the broad definition of the guiding and leadership role of the Communist Party, precise indication of our party's place in Soviet society and the Soviet state. "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the guiding and directing force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system, of all governmental and public organizations," the draft constitution states. "The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people.

"Armed by Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the Communist Party determines the general path of development of society, the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR, and guides the great productive activities of the Soviet people, giving a planned, scientifically-substantiated character to its struggle for the victory of communism."

Such a broad definition of the role of the Communist Party is presented for the first time in our country's Fundamental Law.

We can boldly state that there has never been another nation in the history of mankind which exerted such enormous influence on world development as ours -- the Soviet state. The fact that the draft constitution emphasizes that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the worker class, the peasantry and intelligentsia, all this country's nationalities and ethnic groups, that an advanced socialist society has been built in the USSR, that the highest goal of the Soviet state is to build a classless Communist society is of extraordinary significance for the further development of our state.

These important points reflect the entire path of our country's development in the 60 years since the Great October Socialist Revolution and the vitality of the ideas of the October Revolution.

"On that day when we celebrate an anniversary of the revolution," stated V. I. Lenin, "we should take a look at the path trod by the revolution. We were compelled to begin our revolution under extraordinarily difficult conditions, conditions under which none of the world's subsequent worker revolutions was compelled to operate, and therefore it is particularly important that we endeavor to elucidate as a whole the path we have trod, to take a look at what has been achieved during this time and to what extent we have prepared during this year for our main, genuine, decisive, principal task."



This path is vividly reflected by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and by the draft constitution.

The new theoretical foundations of scientific communism laid down by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev have enriched the entire development of our party, of Soviet society, of our state. Guided by them, the party and Soviet people are even more successfully accomplishing the tasks of building the material and technological foundation for communism.

The entire 60 years experience of the Soviet social and governmental system confirms its viability, its invincibility, its profound democracy and humanism, the triumph of Leninist ideas on the state. This experience constitutes an exceptionally vivid example of resolution of the nationalities question, demonstrating that the principal features of the federative structure of the USSR have fully proven themselves. It is for this reason that they have been given even more extensive reflection in the draft of the new constitution. The draft, just as the 1936 Constitution, points out that the sovereign rights of the Soviet republics are protected by the USSR. The guarantees of these rights are also preserved. At the same time they have been supplemented with new rights.

At the same time the draft of the new constitution reflects the necessity of strengthening the alliance elements of our state, a necessity dictated by the increasing drawing together of the nationalities and ethnic groups of the USSR.

Thus the draft specifies for the future as well a democratic combining of the common interests of the multinational union and the interests of each of the constituent republics. Adoption of the new constitution will constitute a new step toward ensuring comprehensive flourishing of all our country's nationalities and ethnic groups and their steady drawing closer together.

Discussing the draft of the new constitution, the toilers of Soviet Lithuania speak with pride of those enormous positive changes which have taken place in their native region, just as throughout the Soviet Union. These changes show that the path of socialism is a path of rapid economic growth and development, improvement in living standards and cultural level of the toilers. Leadership by the Communist Party and its Leninist nationalities policy have ensured a high rate of social and intellectual progress and have created opportunities for increasingly more extensive utilization of the fruits of the great revolutionary conquests.

Thirty-seven years ago, during those historic July days in 1940, the Declaration of the People's Seim on Soviet Lithuania joining the USSR, emphasized: "The People's Seim of Lithuania is confident that only joining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will ensure the genuine sovereignty of the Lithuanian state, a genuine upswing in industry and agriculture, a genuine flourishing of national culture, and genuine development of the material and spiritual resources of the people."

History has confirmed the correctness of this statement. Soviet Lithuania has achieved unprecedented prosperity in the unified, fraternal family of peoples of the USSR. Today as much industrial output is produced in seven and a half days as was produced during the entire year 1940. Technological progress is particularly substantial in the leading branches of industry. Capital investment in the national economy has increased 46-fold in comparison with 1946. Our socialist agriculture has achieved great success, more than doubling the grain harvest in the years of Soviet rule and increasing output of livestock products by 150%.

Toiler living standards and cultural level are steadily rising. Real wages of workers and employees have risen 55% in the last 10 years alone. Today retail trade turnover is almost 14 times that of 1940. In the postwar period alone 24 million square meters of housing has been built in the cities, towns and villages of this republic. In the last five-year plan 850,000 persons received apartments or improved their housing conditions -- this constitutes one fourth of the entire population of Soviet Lithuania. City dwellers today comprise 57% of the population, as compared with 24% in 1940.

Public education, science and all cultural activities have flourished considerably, as is graphically indicated by the recently-held republic Holiday of Student Song. Today more than 10 times as many people are enrolled in higher educational institutions as before the war, while the total number of specialists with higher and secondary education has increased 14-fold. One out of every three persons employed in the economy possesses higher, incomplete higher or secondary education.

And how the laboring man himself -- the creator of all material and spiritual goods -- has changed during the years of Soviet rule! Today's worker is an educated, technically knowledgeable, politically mature individual, increasingly actively participating not only in resolving the problems of production growth and development but also in societal affairs and in government. These features are also becoming increasingly clearly evident in the intellectual world of the peasant and in his practical activities. The psychology of today's kolkhoz farmer has become enriched with new, positive qualities, his level of education has risen significantly, and his way of life has become more content-filled. Our intelligentsia has today become a genuinely popular, socialist intelligentsia, exerting with vigorous, productive labor increasing influence on various areas of societal affairs. The toiler of this republic, as of the entire country, is a profoundly principled, conscientious member of Soviet society, a patriot and internationalist. And this is one of the most vivid historical advantages of socialism, proof of the strength of the great friendship of the peoples of our country.

The flourishing of Soviet Lithuania, as that of each brother republic, is a result of the brotherhood of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, the powerful and steadily strengthening ties, mutual assistance and joint productive labor. This republic's economy is a component part of the country's

unified economic complex, and this is the foundation of our dynamic development and successful accomplishment of all economic and political tasks. We shall continue in the future tirelessly and comprehensively developing and strengthening the Leninist friendship of the Soviet peoples, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism -- a guarantee of our continued victories on the great path toward communism.

## II

The Central Committee report to the 25th CPSU Congress stressed that an important area of all our work on building communism is comprehensive development of the political system of the Soviet society. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated: "We seek to improve socialist statehood, to achieve further development of socialist democracy, to strengthen the legal foundation of governmental and societal affairs, to step up the activities of public organizations."

Strengthening of our state of the whole people and development of socialist democracy are closely interlinked tasks. Broad prospects for their implementation are opened up at the present stage of building communism, as is attested by the draft constitution, for the main thrust of the new elements it contains is expansion and deepening of socialist democracy.

The Soviets play a very important role in this. The draft constitution states that the people exercise governmental power through the Soviets of People's Deputies, which comprise the political foundation of the USSR, and emphasizes that all other governmental bodies are under the scrutiny of and accountable to the Soviets. Naming the Soviets Soviets of People's Deputies is fully in conformity with their essence at the present stage of development of the socialist state.

Legislative, supervisory and executive functions merge organically in the work of the Soviets. The party has always devoted and continues to devote particular attention toward improving the activities of the Soviets. The rights of rayon, city, apilinke and settlement Soviets have become even more extensive in recent years. An analysis and the results of their work indicate that the Soviets are doing an increasingly better job of supervising all the areas of governmental, economic and sociocultural development and are doing a better job of carrying out adopted decisions. Precisely these areas of activity of the Soviets as well as their most important functions are reflected in the draft constitution.

We are well aware of how much has been accomplished in recent years to ensure that the toilers participate even more actively in management of society and the state, as well as production. Of particular importance is broadening of the democratic principles of the formation and activities of the Soviets, and enhancement of the role of Soviets in settling the important matters of societal affairs.

"The Communist Party," noted Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev in his address at the session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, "has always proceeded from the position that any one of our Soviets is a component of supreme authority, that it is not only invested with the power to settle all matters within its competence but also is an executor of national-level decisions. This, comrades, is an exceptionally important principle. Such a unity of the highest and local agencies, support of supreme authority by local initiative, reflect the main essence of the Soviets -- their inseparable bond with the masses."

The local Soviets can accomplish a great deal, seeking to increase the effectiveness of production, achieve fulfillment of plan targets, and better utilization of local reserves. We spoke about this at a conference of republic Soviet officials, at which the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the tasks of the Soviets pertaining to their implementation were discussed, with concrete measures stated pertaining to successful and early accomplishment of these tasks. Such measures have been elaborated in every city, rayon, and apilinke, and they must be carried out precisely, monitoring their execution. Comrade deputies, this is your important obligation, an important obligation of the officials of all Soviets and all organizations.

Today, when the scale of societal production is growing to an ever increasing degree, essential in every work sector is maximum organization and discipline. The slightest omission and break in rhythm in any production element can disrupt the pace of development of the entire work force, branch and even our entire economy. This is why we must be constantly concerned with strengthening production and labor discipline, boosting culture and production, as well as the responsibility of each individual for his assigned area of activity.

The Communist Party and Soviet state display particular concern for improving toiler living conditions. The draft constitution states that citizens of the USSR have the right to housing. This right is guaranteed by the development of the state and public housing fund, by cooperative and individual housing construction, and by correct distribution of housing under the scrutiny of the public. This article of the draft constitution states very important tasks for the Soviets, toiler collectives, economic and public organizations, construction workers, and all of us, comrades. It is essential rigorously to monitor the execution of housing construction plans and to nip in the bud any violations in distribution of apartments. It is particularly essential to do this because last year 20 rayons failed to meet their housing construction targets. Vilkavishskiy, Anikshchyayskiy, Birzhayskiy and Ignalinskiy rayons fell particularly behind. Cooperative construction is proceeding poorly in the cities of Vil'nyus, Alitus, and Kapsukas. Only 14% of the year's housing construction target involving centralized capital investment was completed in the first 5 months of this year. During this period not a single square meter of housing was completed and turned over to the Shayulyay and Panevezhis city executive committees. Can we accept a situation where funds allocated for housing construction are not being spent in some cities and rayons?

Comrades! Successful performance by the Soviets depends on vigorous activity by the deputies. "The deputy is accountable to his constituents for his own performance and that of the Soviet," states the draft constitution. Such reports and get-togethers with constituents are of great importance. They also help form the character of the deputy and help more effectively accomplish the vital tasks facing the toilers and carry out the instructions of the voters. The local Soviet deputies in the previous term received almost 5,000 instructions, 92% of which were carried out, with the remainder in process of execution. These instructions pertain primarily to public services and amenities for cities, towns and rural communities, improvement in health services, trade, personal services and other areas. It is praiseworthy that the local Soviets in this republic are increasingly more extensively utilizing their invested powers -- they are having the funds of kolkhozes, sovkhoses, industrial, construction, transport and other enterprises and organizations be used cooperatively for construction of social-cultural facilities and for environmental improvements. In the last five-year plan these funds built 85 elementary schools, 8 school annexes, 12 dormitories for schoolchildren, 14 apartment houses for teachers, 3 kindergartens, 2 clinics, 3 athletic facilities and many other facilities. We should note efforts in this area by the Klaypeda city, the Kedaynskiy and Akmyanskiy Rayon Soviets.

In the current five-year plan kolkhoz cooperative funds are slated for building in the village general-curriculum schools accommodating 20,000 children, kindergarten-nurseries accommodating 6,000, 27 village clinics, school dormitories accommodating 2,100, and approximately 500 apartments for teachers.

This is a highly praiseworthy project. We should continue working in this area, making every effort to encourage and support the initiative of enterprises, farms and organizations to pool funds for such projects.

The success of the activities of each Soviet as a collective agency of governmental authority is determined in large measure by the activeness of the deputies, their initiative, and ability to utilize their vested powers. The Soviets have grown qualitatively to a considerable degree, and they can settle in a highly-qualified manner all matters falling within their competence.

Deputies have in their hands a very important document -- the status of the deputy, adopted at the initiative of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. We must seek to ensure that the status is precisely observed by deputies, government agencies, directors of enterprises, establishments, farms, and organizations, the duty of which is to assist deputies in carrying out their duties.

The Soviets are faced with many important tasks pertaining to securing enjoyment of the rights and freedoms of the citizens of our country and achievement of proper execution of obligations by each and every citizen.

The draft constitution not only confirms the general principle of equality of Soviet citizens but also specifies a broad spectrum of rights pertaining to the very life fundamentals of each citizen. A special section notes the right of all citizens to labor, recreation, health protection, social security, education, enjoyment of cultural achievements, and the freedom of scientific-technical and artistic creativity.

Take the right to labor, for example. The right to labor contained in the present constitution is supplemented in the draft constitution by the right to "choice of occupation, type of activity and kind of work in conformity with one's vocation, abilities, occupational training, education, and taking societal needs into account." This means that the Soviets, in conformity with existing powers and competence, must regularly concern themselves with growth in productive forces, free occupational training, and must vigorously settle matters of increasing labor skills and teaching new occupational specialties.

Responsible tasks must also be performed in other areas of activity, particularly in universal compulsory secondary education for young people, rational utilization of leisure, etc. Experience amassed up to the present time suggests that all these tasks will be successfully accomplished. We are obliged to ensure that from early childhood children will be consistently instilled with a deep dedication to the cause of communism, with intelligent forming of socially useful labor skills. It is essential to instill as vigorously as possible in each and every toiler a firm resolve to protect the interests of the Soviet state and to help strengthen its might and prestige.

The fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens specified in the draft constitution, as well as the guarantees of these rights and freedoms are directly linked with the essence of our socialist system, characteristic only of the socialist way of life, which has long since become a model of implementation of social justice. It is therefore quite natural that Soviet citizens and progressive forces throughout the world resolutely condemn various slanderous attacks on our country and on the entire socialist system.

The principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet state, stated in the draft constitution, are of great significance.

The toilers of this republic, as the entire Soviet people and all progressive mankind, highly praise the tireless activities of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally in the area of foreign policy and resolute efforts to preserve world peace. We see clearly how sagaciously, consistently and selflessly Comrade L. I. Brezhnev is working to implement the course toward strengthening peace and international cooperation, outlined at the 25th CPSU Congress. Also attesting to this are the results of his recent visit to France, which earn the unanimous and enthusiastic approval of all Soviet citizens. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the USSR Council of Ministers expressed satisfaction with the results of

the visit and gave a complete vote of approval to the activities of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. The visit to France by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev constitutes a very important contribution toward implementation of the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress and its specified program of continued struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of peoples. All these activities, on a gigantic scale, make it possible to create the most favorable international situation for the prosperity of the Soviet homeland.

### III

Adoption of the new constitution will unquestionably be of particular significance for the development of our country, strengthening of the position of socialism and the forces of peace and progress. Invested in the constitution is vast creative potential, and therefore we should specify today how we shall productively utilize it.

This republic's industry has on the whole successfully met the 6-month production and product sales targets, as well as targets pertaining to production of the principal, most important product items. Tens of millions of rubles worth of above-target output have been given to the economy. Many production collectives have reported ahead-of-schedule target fulfillment.

Although the final results will be totaled up somewhat later, we can already state that unfortunately industry has not achieved the level of the basic indices specified in the targets of the five-year plan. We are not yet able to achieve targeted indices in gross output and labor productivity increase. This is cause for considerable concern. Here also we have serious complaints primarily against the fishing, food processing, meat packing and milk industry. It is essential to do a better job of revealing and fully utilizing reserves available at every work station, in every production section, and in every shop.

One of the principal areas of our organizational and economic activity is even more persistent focusing of industry on improving quality. Much has already been accomplished. Today one out of every three enterprises produces goods of the top quality category. The Seal of Quality has been granted to 1,167 products, and they represent 9.4% of total production. Nevertheless the problem of improving quality as well as labor productivity growth remains one of the most critical. We should focus on resolving this problem all amassed experience, all economic and scientific-technical resources and capabilities.

Very important tasks are presently being accomplished in agriculture. This republic's farmers performed the planting of spring crops in an organized and high-quality manner. Grain crops as a whole are growing well on the majority of farms and in most rayons and promise a good harvest. Hay mowing is proceeding in an organized manner. In many rayons the first cutting is already being completed, including perennial grasses in cultivated meadows;

more hay, haylage and grass meal has been produced than last year.

The activity front in crop farming is broadening, however. We must say that this year farm fields still contain a good many weeds, and therefore unrelenting attention must be focused on care of the crops, and particularly row crops. It is important to complete hay cutting as rapidly as possible and to put away as much valuable feed as possible. Hay harvesting activities are in some areas not smoothly organized, and the pace of harvesting is unsatisfactory. The need to improve applies in particular to the farms of Zarasayskiy, Ignalinskiy, Rokishkskiy, Shirvintskiy, Kel'meskiy, and Birzhayskiy rayons.

Harvest time is drawing closer. It is essential to speed up preparation of harvesting equipment and all facilities, to ready equipment for harvesting lodged grains and for successful operations under rainy weather conditions. It is essential to assemble farm machinery operator cadres in all areas, to plan harvesting operations in detail, to specify effective material and moral incentives, and to organize socialist competition. We believe that it is advisable in the first half of July to conduct a mutual inspection of competing farms and rayons on hay cutting and preparations for harvesting grain.

Comrades! A good deal of work lies before us in connection with preparing a draft constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and its adoption. At this session we shall set up a Constitution Commission to draft a constitution for this republic. The draft constitution will be submitted to the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet. In December-January the draft constitution of the Lithuanian SSR will be presented for discussion by the general population in this republic, and subsequently, in the first half of next year, to a special session of this republic's Supreme Soviet.

Of course the USSR draft constitution and that considerable experience which we shall amass in the course of the nationwide discussion of this draft constitution should constitute a good point of reference in all this work.

May further discussion of the draft constitution unify all toilers to an even greater extent behind the Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party and may it serve as inspiration to vigorous, productive labor for the benefit of our beloved homeland -- the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the victory of communism.

Permit me to express confidence that you, comrade deputies, and all the toilers of this republic will stint no effort to accomplish the tasks of building a Communist society. Permit me on your behalf to assure the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Central Committee Politburo, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally that we shall do everything to carry out the historic resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress and to meet all the targets of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

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REPORT BY SECOND SECRETARY POLYAKOV TO BELORUSSIAN SUPREME SOVIET

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 15 Jul 77 pp 2-3

[Speech by I. Ye. Polyakov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR: "On the Draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR and the Tasks of the Soviets of This Republic Proceeding from the Report of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Constitution Commission, and the Decisions of the May (1977) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Deputies!

Soviet citizens responded with great joy and enthusiasm to the results of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the report by Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the plenum, and the draft of the new constitution. The party has armed the Soviet people with a profoundly meaningful and inspiring document, possessing world-historic significance. It was elaborated under the direct supervision of the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo, and Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Constitution Commission.

The need for a new constitution, its vast significance and its fundamental features, which express the world-historic achievements of the Soviet people, attained under the supervision of the party, were profound and comprehensively substantiated in the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It presented a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the root changes which have taken place in this country and throughout the world since adoption of the 1936 Constitution, and reveals the advantages of our societal and governmental system, our way of life, and the genuine democracy of the Soviet society. The fundamental theses, syntheses and conclusions in the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev are of a programmatic character and constitute a major contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

Discussion of the USSR draft constitution is taking place in an atmosphere of great political and labor enthusiasm. The draft is being studied

attentively and with interest in all strata of our society, in every family. The nationwide discussion of this outstanding document has resulted in a new and vivid demonstration of the monolithic solidarity of Soviet citizens behind the Communist Party and its Central Committee.

The indestructible unity of party and people has found impressive expression in the work of the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Ninth Convocation. The session adopted unanimously and with great enthusiasm a decree electing CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Combining in a single person the functions of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is dictated by life itself and proceeds both from the actual status of our party -- a governing party -- and the outstanding personal qualities of Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev. The toilers of Belorussia, as of the entire country, enthusiastically greet the election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as head of the Soviet state and wish him good health and inexhaustible energy in the campaign for the people's happiness, for world peace, and for the triumph of the ideals of communism. (Applause).

The results of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as well as draft of the new constitution presently occupy the attention focus of workers, kolkhoz farmers, the intelligentsia, and the entire population of this republic. A plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia was held in June, unanimously approving this country's draft Fundamental Law, and also adopting as an unswerving guide to execution the decisions of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the points and conclusions contained in the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Plenary sessions of oblast, city and rayon party committees, meetings of party activists, and sessions of local Soviets, the new convocation, have been held. Their participants examine a broad range of matters connected both with the content of the draft constitution and with its significance for accomplishing practical economic tasks. Discussion of the draft constitution is continuing at meetings in work forces and residential neighborhoods; it is being actively conducted by all mass information media. And we can state with complete confidence that the toilers of Belorussia, as all Soviet citizens, wholeheartedly accept and support the draft of the new constitution, each line of which is permeated with the party's concern for the interests of the people and for further strengthening the might of our homeland.

At the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev noted that the new constitution is being constructed on a solid practical and theoretical foundation. Herein lies the guarantee of its stability and its active influence on future progress by the Soviet society.

The new constitution will consolidate all the achievements of socialism from the Great October Socialist Revolution to the present day. The main historical result of the path trod during this time is the building of an advanced socialist society in the USSR. The draft constitution proclaims:

"Soviet rule carried out the most profound socioeconomic transformations, put to an end once and for all man's exploitation of man, class antagonisms and national enmity, established public ownership of the means of production and genuine democracy for the toiler masses."

The Soviet state, arising historically as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was transformed into an organization of the entire people with the construction of advanced socialism, with transition to the ideological position of the worker class by all segments of the population. The draft constitution defines the highest goal of the Soviet state -- the building of a Communist society.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the inspiring and organizing force behind the nationwide effort to attain this goal. It carries high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and worthily carries out the role of political leader of the worker class and of the entire Soviet people. The party defines the general line of development of society, the domestic and foreign policy of the USSR, and carries it out in the Leninist manner, wisely, on a vast scale, and purposefully. The draft constitution proclaims that the Communist Party is the guiding and directing force of Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system, of all governmental and public organizations, that it exists for the people and serves the people.

The toilers of Belorussia, as all Soviet citizens, have total faith in their Communist Party, unanimously approve the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU, view it as their very own cause and support it with selfless labor and vigorous participation in carrying out all party measures.

Soviet citizens are legitimately proud of their achievements in economic development. The economy of the USSR, as is stated in the draft constitution, comprises a unified economic complex, encompassing all elements of societal production, distribution and exchange throughout the country. The unified economic system of the 15 brother republics has made it possible to establish in each republic a highly-developed industry, large-scale mechanized agriculture, modern means of transportation, communications, and diversified services for the population.

It is no exaggeration to state that in the four decades since adoption of the present constitution, there have taken place in our republic, as throughout the country, changes in the economy which in the past would have required centuries. And we have achieved these results in a period which includes the years of the Great Patriotic War, when practically the entire Belorussian economy was destroyed.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, enormous work has been accomplished in our country to strengthen the friendship among peoples, to indoctrinate toilers in a spirit of socialist internationalism. Today all the nationalities and ethnic groups of the USSR, which have attained, as is noted in the draft constitution, not only legal but also actual equality,

have become unified into a new historical community -- the Soviet people. The draft constitution emphasizes the genuinely democratic combination of the general interests of our multinational state and the interests of each republic, which ensures further deepening of cooperation among the brother peoples and an unswerving growth in their internationalist unity.

Preparing to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, Soviet citizens recognize with particular clarity that everything we have achieved, all our successes in development of the economy, culture and science, our military victories and labor feats -- all these are fruits of the joint efforts of the peoples of the USSR, our common pride and common glory. The toilers of Belorussia, discussing the draft of the new constitution, speak of this with a strong feeling of gratitude toward the great Russian people, toward all the brother peoples of our country. They consider it their sacred duty to continue in the future protecting as their most precious possession and strengthening the firm standards and principles of socialist internationalism, the indestructible friendship of the Soviet peoples.

Reflected in the draft constitution are the outstanding results of development of Soviet society along the path toward social homogeneity. The countenance of our worker class has changed, and its quantitative composition has increased significantly; public-spirited activeness has increased, and participation in managing governmental and societal affairs has become broadened. The number of workers in Belorussia has more than tripled since 1950. Seventy percent of workers possess higher, incomplete higher, or secondary (complete and incomplete) education. Our peasantry has also changed. The kolkhoz system, transforming social relations in the village, altered the character of peasant labor and their entire way of life. Labor in agriculture is being transformed into a variety of industrial labor, while the life style of kolkhoz farmers and sovkhoz workers is becoming closer to that of urban dwellers. Almost 40% of the farm workers in our republic also possess higher or secondary (complete and incomplete) education. Our intelligentsia has become a genuinely popular, socialist intelligentsia. The number of persons in the Belorussian SSR engaged primarily in intellectual labor has increased approximately 20-fold over the prewar period and totals more than 1 million persons.

The principles grounded in the draft constitution will promote further strengthening of the indestructible alliance of the worker class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the popular intelligentsia. The draft constitution imposes on the state the obligation of strengthening the social homogeneity of society and creating conditions for harmonious improvement of the individual, development of public education, health care, science and culture.

Bourgeois propaganda invests considerable effort in slandering the achievements of socialism in the area of socioeconomic rights and freedoms. But no capitalist state does give or can give the toilers such a sum total of social benefits, such political freedoms as are enjoyed by Soviet citizens.

Spelled out by the USSR draft constitution, these rights and freedoms are guaranteed by all the socioeconomic resources and political organization of a mature socialist society.

The draft constitution not only confirms the corresponding articles of the present Fundamental Law but also enriches them with new content. Spelled out for the first time are the actually existing rights and freedoms which were not reflected in the 1936 Constitution and which even the most diligent scrutiny will fail to reveal in the constitutions and particularly the practical realities of bourgeois nations. They include rights to protection of health, to housing, to enjoyment of all cultural achievements, the right of the family to protection and assistance by the state, plus others.

All of them constitute the living reality of our socialist way of life. Let us take, for example, the right to housing. The state guarantees it with an unprecedented scale of housing construction. In this republic 1,564,000 persons received new apartments in the Ninth Five-Year Plan alone. Approximately an equal number of toilers will move into new quarters in the current five-year plan.

The socialist society, guaranteeing all citizens broad democratic rights and freedoms, proceeds from the position that their enjoyment should not cause detriment to the interests of society and the state. Enjoyment of rights and freedoms is inseparable from performance of obligations. The draft constitution demands that each citizen toil conscientiously, preserve and strengthen socialist property, defend the socialist homeland, strengthen the friendship of peoples, be concerned with the upbringing of his children, and display an implacable opposition to antisocial actions. Discussing the draft Fundamental Law, the toilers of Belorussia totally support the constitutional demands aimed at instilling in each and every citizen social maturity, civil responsibility, and a high degree of conscientiousness.

Matters of the governmental-legal arrangement in the USSR occupy an important place in the draft constitution. Soviet federalism has been retained and further developed, and the union elements of our state have been strengthened. At the same time the rights of the union republics have been broadened in the area of determining matters pertaining to governing the USSR, as well as matters of governmental, economic and social development within their territory. The right of legislative initiative in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is guaranteed to the union republics, in the person of their highest entities of government authority. Thus the draft constitution ensures a genuinely democratic combination of the interests of the USSR and the interests of each union republic.

As you know, comrades, a task was stated at the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the task of drafting and ratifying new constitutions of the union and autonomous republics at the earliest possible date. At this

session we must establish a Constitution Commission, to draft a Fundamental Law of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. In December of this year it must be presented for nationwide discussion, and at the beginning of next year it is to be examined at a special session of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR.

The main thrust of the new elements contained in the USSR draft constitution is further broadening and deepening of socialist democracy, in conformity with the conditions and capabilities of an advanced socialist society. The draft constitution devotes considerable attention to the Soviets which, to quote V. I. Lenin, express the sovereignty of the people. The transition of our state into a state of the whole people strengthens this main feature of the Soviets and provides a basis for calling our representative organs of authority Soviets of People's Deputies. Extending the competence of the Soviets in conformity with the tasks and needs of advanced socialism, the draft constitution provides for further development of the democratic principles of their formation and activities as well as strengthening of their role in determining the most important matters of the affairs of society.

As entities expressing the sovereign will of the toilers, the Soviets exercise supervision over all other governmental entities and within the limits of their powers monitor and coordinate the work of all organizations on their territory. The provisions of the draft constitution determine the principal ways of strengthening the ties between the Soviets and their deputies and the masses and require that the Soviets regularly inform the population on their activities and be accountable to the voters. In order even further to enhance the role of the elected representatives of the people, the principal powers granted them by the Law on the Status of Deputies are included in the text of the draft constitution. A procedure is established whereby executive bodies regularly submit reports to the Soviets which have elected them.

A new element is also being introduced into the electoral system. According to the present constitution only persons who have reached the age of 23 years have the right to be elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with 21 years the minimum age for election to the Supreme Soviet of the union republics; now it is proposed to extend this right to all citizens from the age of 18. This is a genuine manifestation of solicitude for and confidence in Soviet youth.

Conditions for more effective activities by representative agencies of authority are created by the proposed increase in the term of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviets of the union republics to 5 years and the local Soviets to 2 and one half years.

The Soviets are agencies of the people, and all their activities are subordinated to the needs and interests of the people. It is precisely for this reason that elections to representative bodies of government are so vigorously conducted in this country. The local Soviet elections held

on 19 June constituted a vivid demonstration of the genuine democracy of our socialist system. In the Belorussian SSR, as in all the union republics, these elections were held in an atmosphere of great patriotic enthusiasm. With their unanimous votes cast for the candidates of the block of Communists and party-unaffiliated, the voters expressed the deepest confidence in and full support for the party's domestic and foreign policy as well as unanimous approval of the results of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

All Soviets -- both supreme and local -- comprise, as is stated in the draft constitution, a unified system of agencies of governmental authority. Constituting an element of supreme authority, every Soviet is invested with powers of settling matters falling within its competence, and at the same time it constitutes an executor of national interests. Noting in this connection the necessity of tireless improvement in the performance of the Soviets, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on 17 June that it "should even more fully absorb the campaign to increase efficiency of production, to carry out the broad social program mapped out by the party, as well as development of all aspects of our socialist democracy, that is, accomplishment of the tasks of building communism."

This republic's Soviets of the most recent, 15th Convocation did a fine job of implementing the resolutions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, which promoted successful accomplishment of the tasks of the last five-year plan and the first one and a half years of the current five-year plan. Facing the Soviets of the current convocation is the task of raising direction and management of the economy to a new and higher level -- to the level of the demands of the 25th CPSU Congress, the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the provisions of the draft Fundamental Law. Economic functions are the most important in the work of our representative bodies. Therefore concrete economic results, fulfillment of state plans and socialist pledges, and concern to ensure that our citizens work and live better should constitute a genuine return on the activities of each and every Soviet.

Toward these ends we must first of all improve the mass-organization and organizing efforts of Soviet agencies, seeking affirmation at all echelons of the government edifice of the Leninist style and approach to accomplishing practical tasks. And yet the performance of a number of Soviets in this republic does not yet meet increased demands. They lack initiative and persistence in solving urgent economic problems, in organizing socialist competition, and in improving working and living conditions for our citizens. These matters are not always thoroughly and comprehensively examined at sessions, meetings of permanent commissions, and by executive committees. Such a form of verification as deputy questioning is still being poorly utilized.

In the Buda-Koshelevskiy, Kobrinskiy, Kormyanskiy and Shchuchinskiy rayon, in the Orsha city and in many other Soviets the permanent commissions are not active enough. Some executive committees show little concern for publicizing their activities. For example, the executive committee of the

Sharkovshchinskiy Rayon Soviet in the course of the last year reported to only four labor collectives. The Stolinskiy Rayon Executive Committee covered few people with their reports.

Success in the activities of each and every Soviet is determined by the activeness of its deputies. It is a great honor to serve as a deputy to a representative body. At the same time the people make high demands on their elected representatives and impose responsible obligations on them. "Participating in the work of the Soviets," states the draft constitution, "deputies determine matters of governmental, economic and social-cultural development, organize execution of the decisions of the Soviets, monitor the activities of government agencies, enterprises, establishments and organizations." A deputy is obligated to display party demandingness and principledness at all times and in all things, to value the people's trust and to justify that trust with his practical actions.

Comrade Deputies! At the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev pointed out that discussion of the draft constitution is a vital concern of the Soviets, and that in organizing this activity they must reach practically the entire adult population. In the time which has passed since publication of the draft constitution, the Soviets of our republic have accomplished considerable work in this area. Under the supervision of party organizations they are ensuring extensive, free and genuinely businesslike discussion of the draft constitution and the results of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Many suggestions, which are being carefully scrutinized and implemented, have already been presented at sessions of Soviets, at toiler meetings, in the press, on television and radio.

Utilizing available mass information, agitation and propaganda media, as well as existing forms of societal activity, we must step up this activity among all segments of the population, particularly in the residential neighborhoods. It is essential that all deputies actively clarify and explain the materials of the May Plenum and the draft constitution. It is important that not a single suggestion, addition to or comment on the draft constitution be ignored by the Soviets; they must all be considered and examined in conformity with established procedure.

In the course of discussing the draft constitution questions frequently arise pertaining to various difficulties, and comments are made on deficiencies in the performance of government agencies, enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and in the area of services. Whether or not the toilers receive convincing, well-substantiated replies to all their questions and whether the necessary measures are promptly taken in response to each critical comment depends in large measure on us, comrade deputies, and on officials in the Soviet edifice. Persecution for criticism is prohibited by a provision written into the draft constitution. Soviet agencies must ensure unswerving observance of this principle and increase the effectiveness of criticism. It is necessary to campaign more vigorously against suppressors of criticism, to combat manifestations of bureaucracy, negligence and lack of discipline on the part of officials. The Soviets should more closely monitor the



response of governmental and economic entities to toiler letters and statements.

The decisions of the May Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and discussion of the draft constitution have awakened new creative forces within the people and have given a new impulse to socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. I have already mentioned the results achieved by this republic's economy during the first half of this year. On the whole these are positive, fine results. At the same time, as was noted at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, the performance level of many enterprises, ministries and agencies remains low. Their activities are insufficiently directed toward achieving end economic results, as a consequence of which the country has been short-supplied a substantial quantity of cement, electric motors, leather shoes, knitwear and other items.

Our governmental and economic agencies and local Soviets should focus particular attention on lagging elements, directing the efforts of work forces toward seeking unutilized reserve potential to boost production efficiency and improve product quality, toward combating work time losses and uneconomical expenditure of energy and material resources.

Measures by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia aimed at implementing the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress in the 10th Five-Year Plan call for turning out 600 million rubles more of consumer goods than specified by the state plan target. Last year enterprise work forces produced 158.3 million rubles above and beyond the target, and 93 million rubles beyond target in the first half of this year.

Efforts to find reserve potential for additional consumer goods output are being conducted in this republic continuously and at all levels. But one should not assume that everything is proceeding smoothly in this republic. In the main branch producing these goods -- light industry, some enterprises (the Minsk Fine Fabric Combine, the Soligorsk Knit Underwear Factory, the Orsha Garment Factory) are not meeting their sales targets. There are even more such enterprises in the Ministry of Local Industry system. The capabilities of union-subordination enterprises are not being fully utilized.

In short, there is much work to be done in this area both by the corresponding ministries and agencies, enterprises, and by the Soviets. In the draft constitution coordination and monitoring of consumer goods production are defined as one of the principal tasks of local authorities, and it is essential that the Soviets carry out this important function fully and persistently.

A critical period has begun for the toilers in agriculture. The tasks which they are currently performing are specified by the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia and the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR entitled "On Measures to Complete Preparations for and Ensure Successful Conduct of the 1977 Harvest." Weather conditions this spring and early summer were favorable. Almost everywhere the spring and summer grain crops are larger than last year. It will not be easy to harvest the crop, however, since rains have been frequent, and the grain has lodged

in many fields. Under these conditions the problem of organizing the harvest in such a manner as to conduct it as quickly as possible and to prevent losses is particularly critical.

Large-scale harvesting will begin in a few days. As was indicated by an inspection and discussion of the question of preparedness of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of this republic for the harvest, conducted at the Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Belorussia, not all combines have as yet been repaired, while driers, weighing equipment, trucks and loading equipment are not ready for operations in all localities. Time is of the essence. The executive committees of Soviets, deputies, farm managers and specialists, and all rural toilers, guided by the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia and the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR -- published in the 8 July issue of the newspapers -- should display a maximum of efficiency in correcting existing shortcomings and ensuring a smooth, well-organized start to the harvest.

The main task consists in sharply reducing, in contrast to past years, the time required to harvest the grain, thus reducing crop losses. Skillful work by the harvesting-transportation detachments and teams, particularly combines, trucks and drying facilities, must be subordinated to this goal. It is essential to increase per-combine output to a maximum degree, extensively to employ separate-operation harvesting, and to ensure genuinely precision performance by the entire harvesting operation complex and vigorously to conduct grain procurement from the very first days of the harvest.

All our Soviets must consider this an urgent matter for their attention. They are called upon to make every effort to ensure that organization, discipline and smooth, coordinated performance prevail in the harvest, with a high level of labor enthusiasm prevailing everywhere, and with adopted socialist pledges met successfully. There should be concern for proper organization of trade and communal food services, mass cultural provisions and services for persons engaged in the harvest. Deputies and volunteer inspectors should keep a vigilant eye on the campaign against harvest losses.

In the next few days it is essential for all farms to complete the hay harvesting, so that it does not carry over into the grain harvest. This work is being done aggressively on many kolkhozes and sovkhozes, with a full effort. In a number of rayons, however, in spite of good grass stands and a sufficient quantity of equipment, hay harvesting has proceeded with a considerable delay, and it is proceeding too slowly. Serious complaints can be leveled against the top officials of the executive committees of the Verkhnedvinskiy, Braslavskiy, Slavgorodskiy, Khotimskiy, Nesvizhskiy, and Lel'chitskiy Rayon Soviets, as well as the agricultural agencies, kolkhozes and sovkhozes of these rayons, which are complacently accepting serious deficiencies in feed production and are poorly utilizing existing favorable opportunities to achieve a sharp increase in feed supplies.

This year the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes increased the size of their livestock herds, including cows. In the first 6 months of the year the

average daily weight increase for cattle and hogs was greater than that in the corresponding period of last year; there was also an increase in livestock and poultry sales volume, average milk yields per cow and gross milk production. Livestock unit qualitative indices also improved.

But we should like to draw the attention of the deputies to the fact that in many localities the lag has not yet been corrected. In addition, in Vitebskaya Oblast there was a decrease in meat procurement in comparison with the first half of last year. Many farms in Brestskaya Oblast decreased sale of livestock and poultry. Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses in these oblasts also have decreased productivity of their commodity milk-producing operations. The Ministry of Agriculture and its local agencies as well as the executive committees of the Soviets should take the most resolute steps to increase meat and milk production on all farms this year.

The republic achieved higher indices in the area of capital construction than last year. But the pace of construction does not yet guarantee that the work forces of construction and erection organizations will meet their socialist pledges. Construction is proceeding slowly on some important installations, while some ministries and agencies of all-union and republic subordination are insufficiently disbursing their capital spending allocations.

Thirty percent more apartment houses were completed in the first half of the year than in the same period last year. Nevertheless the 6-month target has not been met. The State Committee on Occupational-Technical Training, the Ministry of Building Materials, Erection and Special Construction Jobs, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Vitebskaya Oblast Executive Committee have failed to spend the funds allocated for housing construction. There are occurring considerable interruptions in the construction of cultural and services facilities, for which local Soviets are directly answerable.

One can note with satisfaction the rapid growth and development of the public services area. Targets pertaining to retail trade, personal and municipal services are being successfully met in this republic; the network of stores, restaurants, various studios and workshops, health care and culture establishments is growing.

In the last 6 months more milk, meat, eggs, sugar, confectionery products and other food products were sold to the public than in the corresponding period in 1976. Volume of personal services is continuing to rise, particularly in rural areas.

We cannot ignore, however, the fact that there are still many complaints about poor performance of the service industry. It is essential in all areas of services for the public -- trade, personal services, municipal services, cultural services and medical care -- to make every effort to increase the responsibility and organizing role of Soviet agencies.

Every day brings us closer to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. There is a broadening mass patriotic movement to honor this important jubilee date, and socialist competition for ahead-of-schedule completion of the targets of the second year of the five-year plan is building momentum. Under present-day conditions competition has acquired new qualitative features; it is increasingly more strongly influencing practical societal affairs. This is also reflected in the draft constitution, which stresses the responsibility of governmental agencies for directing competition.

The Soviets, under the supervision of party agencies, should strengthen their organizational role to an even greater extent in promoting socialist competition and should create in each work force an atmosphere of great socio-political and production activity. The experience accumulated in this area by the Soviets must be broadened and enriched, utilizing it to increase production efficiency and the quality of all our work.

Comrade Deputies! The nationwide discussion of the USSR draft constitution is a historic event in the life of our society. It is a major holiday of socialist democracy, one more convincing proof of the solidarity of the Soviet people behind the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee. Permit me to express confidence that the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR, through its unanimous approval of the draft constitution, will express the opinion and will of the entire Belorussian people, their total dedication to the party and ardent aspiration to make a worthy contribution to the cause of the further prosperity of our great homeland -- the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics! (Applause).

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